

BATTLE
of
FREEDOM

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THE
BATTLE OF FREEDOM,
INCLUDING
SEVEN LETTERS
ON
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,
ADDRESSED TO
BISHOP SPALDING.

BY S. H. FORD.

"'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it."—*Cowper*.

"But I was born free."—*Apostle Paul*.

Louisville, Ky:

PRINTED BY J. F. BRENNAN,
1855.



TO THE READER.

AFTER frequent solicitations from friends and strangers, in this city and State, and also in other States, communicated privately and publicly, I have, with unaffected hesitancy, given these pages to the public.

My intention was to make about half the book consist of sketches of the advocates of religious liberty in other times ; but having to leave the city, on my return I found the letters printed off, leaving me but forty eight pages for the proposed sketches. This will account for the extreme condensation in the sixth chapter. The seventh letter was also written after it was concluded to publish them in the present form. The six others, first appeared in the Louisville Morning Courier.

Had I been in the city when the fourth letter was printed off, I should have omitted as many of the quotations as were from weekly Catholic newspapers. Their editors are (at the present time at least) considered entirely irresponsible ; and it is an old trick of Jesuitism, to try to call away attention from the highest and authoritative sources of evidence, to the irresponsibility of an unendorsed editor, or his reckless denial of what is quoted, if a single letter or comma be misplaced. The quotation from the Boston Pilot was first seen by me in the

Boston "Watchman and Reflector," which exchanges with the Pilot; then in the "Hartford Christian Secretary," furnished that paper by a correspondent. It was afterwards published by itself in the Western Christian Advocate, the editor remarking that it was taken from the Pilot, which came to that office in exchange.

It, or any of those quotations, from unendorsed editors, are not relied upon as proofs. The most that can be made of them is, as mere illustrations of what has been incontestably proven.

I shall therefore beg of the reader, instead of what is quoted from Catholic *newspapers*, for which some nameless editor is alone responsible, to insert the following letter from the head of the Order of Jesus, and twenty-three of the reverend father Jesuits. They had been charged there, as Bishop Spalding has charged them here, (but with a different object,) with being favorable to liberty. Here is their denial:

To his Royal Majesty, Ferdinand II, of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies :

SACRED ROYAL MAJESTY—*Sire* : With much surprise we have heard our sentiments doubted with regard to absolute monarchy ; we therefore think it necessary humbly to submit our views in the present page.

Majesty, we not only in olden time, but also recently on our establishment in 1821, until the present day, have also inculcated respect, love, and devotion for the King our Lord, for his government, and for the form of the same—that is, absolute monarchy.

This we have done, not only from conviction, but also because the Doctors of the company, who are FRANCESCO SUAREZ, the Cardinal BALLARMINO, and many other theologians and publicists of the same, have publicly taught absolute monarchy to be the best form of government.

This we have done, because the internal economy of the company

is monarchical, and therefore we are by maxim and by education devoted to absolute monarchy, in which Catholicism, by the wisdom and zeal of a pious King, can alone have secured defence and prosperity.

Majesty, that we both think, and believe, and sustain that absolute monarchy is the best of governments, is demonstrated by the damage that we suffered in the year 1818. We were the victims of Liberalism, because all Liberals were, and are, well persuaded also that the Jesuits are the supporters of absolute monarchy.

These things, oh Majesty, are well known, and Liberals would more easily believe that the sun would not rise to-morrow, than admit that the Jesuits would favor them, and therefore every time they attempt a revolution, their first object is to despoil the Jesuits.

For this reason the Liberals, by an inviolable canon of their law, will not admit a Jesuit, or one who is affiliated to the order, among them.

In fact, the Jesuits in the kingdom of Naples have always taught it to be unpardonable to make revolutions for the purpose of changing the absolute monarchy, which the reigning dynasty has always maintained.

If this should not be sufficient not to be thought Liberals, we humbly pray your Majesty to point out what further we ought to do to be believed decided absolutists.

Certainly the Jesuits have never been, at any time or in any place, accused of Liberalism; and what motive should they have for not loving and defending the absolute government of the august monarch FERDINAND II, who has covered them with benefits?

Finally, Majesty, of this sovereign beneficence we have made no other use than for the good of Christian morality and Catholicity and the reigning dynasty, to profess immutable fidelity to the absolute monarchy, to which we declare ourselves always devoted, and we hope that your Majesty will graciously permit us to confirm this sentiment at your Majesty's feet by word of mouth.

The present page is signed by me, by my "Father's councillors," (Padri Consultori,) and by all others present, in the short time there has been for collecting their signatures: and if your Majesty desires the signatures of all the Jesuits of this province of Naples, they can speedily be obtained. Insomuch, we who sign this are

full guarantee for their devotion by all proof to the absolute monarch.

GIUSEPPE MARIA PALADINI,

(and 23 others.)

della Compagni di Gesu Provinciale.

COLLEGIO DEL GESU NUEVO, NAPOLI, NOV. 21, 1854.

This translation can be found in the New York Times, of January 12th, 1855, and also, with editorial remarks, in the New York Tribune.

And when Pope Gregory condemned, by his bull of August 15th, 1832, "religious liberty of conscience," the Gazette de France, which had advocated it, was stopped, and the following letter appeared from its managers:—

"The undersigned, editors of the *Avenir*, and members of the council of the *general agency for the defence of religious liberty*, present in Paris:

"Being convinced by the Encyclical Letter of our sovereign Pontiff, Gregory XVI, dated August 15th, 1832, that they could not go on in their labors without placing themselves in opposition to the solemn will of him whom God has charged with the government of his Church, they believe it to be their duty, as Catholics, to declare that, in respectful submission to the supreme authority of the vicar of Jesus Christ, they leave the arena in which they have loyally fought for the space of ten years. They entreat earnestly all their friends to give a like example of christian submission. Consequently, first, the *Avenir* shall appear no more. Second. *The General Agency for the defence of religious liberty is dissolved.*

[Signed,]

F. DE LA MENNAIS,
(and several other names.)

PARIS, Sept. 10th, 1832."

Would it not be dissolved here, in obedience to the same "supreme power," were there *good* Catholics enough to dissolve it?

With these explanations, I may be permitted to aver, that nought but my own deep convictions, and the purest motives, have prompted what I have written.

S. H. F.

Louisville, Kentucky, April, 1855.

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ERRATA.

Owing to the authors absence from the city while the Letters were going through the press, some typographical errors have crept in. The reader will please correct the following :

On page 98, for "sectional" read *sectarian*; and for "political" read *religious*.

Page 109, for "extinguished" read *distinguished*.

Page 117, for "Selician" read *Sicilian*.

Page 118, for "Verona, 1578," read *Vervins, 1598*.

Page 121, for "refutation" read *repetition*.

Page 128, for "action" read *doctrine*.

THE BATTLE OF FREEDOM.

CHAPTER I.

PATRIOTISM—INTRODUCTORY.

I PROPOSE, in the following pages, to sketch a few of the struggles which the friends of religious liberty, in every age, have maintained against spiritual despotism.

The endurances and triumphs of patriotism have glowed on the historic page, have been renowned in immortal song, and their memories perpetuated in column and statue. In vivid and grateful recollection we reverence the name of the patriot; are moved to sorrow at his sufferings, or dwell with rapture on the record of his triumphs.

Among all the splendors that circle the memory of ancient Rome, the revolution, under the elder Brutus, shines down upon us with transcendent glory. Amid all the brilliant achievements of patriotism, that noble effort has not been surpassed. A people crushed and fettered by an overwhelming despotism, in a dark age, unaided by the light of historic example, suddenly awaking from their apathy, and rising in all the majesty of principle, shattered at a blow the battlements in which tyranny

was entrenched, and hurling the Tarquins from the throne, erected on its ruins a republic which lasted for ages. A moral sublimity is associated with the name of Brutus; and while memory endures will it awaken admiration.

Annually, on the nation's festive morn, as the light crimsons the snows that crown the surrounding Alps, a thousand little boats, to the sound of music, sweep over one of Switzerland's loveliest lakes and landing at a romantic and consecrated spot, where stands the chapel of William Tell, the day is spent in joyously commemorating the memory of him who is esteemed the father of his country.

And well may Switzerland be proud of Tell and his compatriots. Untrained, untaught, and unsupported, they beat back the forces of Austria, humbled the power of the Emperor, and, in the very centre of surrounding despotisms, established a democratic republic.

Nor are these the only names and achievements which merit admiration, and have received the high commendations of history. Cincinnatus left the plow, at his country's call, to hold the reins of government; after quelling domestic strife, and defeating an invading foe, he retired to his humble cot on his little farm, thus showing that no lust of power filled his heart; no ambition but for his country's good. Side by side with our own loved Washington, he stands on the summit of human fame.

The remote influences of such examples are equal to their immediate advantages. Their contemplation elevates the human mind, kindles its noblest

instincts, and incites to deeds of virtue. Enduring monuments of true greatness, when the mighty pyramids shall have crumbled to dust, in voiceless eloquence they will speak terror to tyrants, and bid patriots hope.

But there is a freedom higher and holier than even this—

“A liberty unsung

By poets, and by senators unpraised,
But liberty of soul, derived from Him,
Bought with His blood, who gave it to mankind,
And sealed with the same tokens.”

And yet, though “unpraised,” “unsung,” it is that emancipation of the noblest powers of the human soul, without which the most ample political freedom is stamped with slavery.* As far as the heavens are above the earth, as eternity transcends time, or the immortal mind is superior to its clay tenement, does freedom to worship—to look up to God in the full exercise of the powers he has given—excel mere political emancipation.

High, therefore, as is our admiration of the spirit, and courage, and magnanimity, awakened by a strong impression of the demands of patriotism; and which, to protect a country's rights, and secure a country's triumphs against the encroachments of foreign or domestic despotism, will brave alike the carnage of the battle field, the solitude of the bastille, or the ignominy of the scaffold; the heroism displayed in behalf of this more exalted object, is of a more elevated order still. Its achievements and endurances derive a surpassing glory from the superior

nature of the cause with which it is associated. And the champion of the unfettered freedom of the soul in its approaches to Deity, stands on the utmost confines of human virtue; merits the love and veneration of his race, and will be crowned with the honors of eternity.

Many have been the martyr-heroes of this sublime principle; checkered have been their achievements, and mournful their sufferings. Often overwhelmed, but never defeated; crushed, but never destroyed; when they have retired from the field, it has been to gather up their energies for a fresh and more vigorous onset.

Against them and their cause, have ignorance and bigotry, false religion and tyranny, ever been allied. But boldly have they battled, aggressive and unflinching, accepting no compromise between liberty or death. Now scattered and single-handed, and now ranged in solid column, they have waged unceasing war. Nor has the struggle been in vain. One land, at least, is a trophy of their triumph—has emblazoned on her escutcheon the emblems of religious liberty. This liberty is ours—our richest boon; our cherished privilege; our happiness and our glory. Every encroachment on its sacred precincts, every approach of hidden foes, we should promptly repel, and sleeplessly guard, ever remembering that “eternal vigilance is the price of freedom.” “The removal of the yoke of soul-oppression,” said the first apostle of freedom on this continent,* “as it

* Roger Williams. Hireling Ministry.

will prove an act of mercy to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience, to preserve the common liberty and peace." The prosperity and peace which the teeming millions of our population to-day enjoy, prove the truth of his principles and the fulfillment of his hopes. Nor should it ever be forgotten, that the security, the intelligence, the progress—the everywhere-visible marks of prosperity unrivalled, which are ours, spring pre-eminently from the religious liberty which we enjoy. We have but to open eyes to see its presence, and appreciate its blessings.

“ Who with heart and eyes
Could walk where liberty had been, nor see
The shining footprints of her deity?
Nor feel those God-like breathings in the air,
Which mutely told her spirit had been there?”

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTIANITY AND LIBERTY.

A PURE Christianity is the glorious embodiment of soul-freedom.

Adapted to the spiritual wants and immortal aspirations of the individual man; meeting him in his darkness with the clearness of its discoveries; meeting him in weakness with its transforming power; meeting him in wretchedness with consolation and refuge; coming in direct contact with the heart, and flashing in upon it a full sense of its sinfulness and responsibility, and breathing into the deep recesses of his being the breath of life and hope—it raises him to communion with the Eternal, as responsible and as free to worship God, so far as human agencies or interferences are concerned, as though no other being but himself dwelt upon the earth. Christianity, uncorrupted, presses upon man his personal, his individual relations to eternity, telling him to “work out his own salvation,” and thus makes it a matter entirely existing between himself and his God.

Hence its announcement was not to kings or magistrates; to a convocation of rulers or a hierarchy of priests. It chose no organized power as its oracle. It sanctioned no assumptions of human authority in spiritual concerns. Replete with

blessings boundless and eternal—with all that could elevate and adorn a fallen humanity ; shedding the light of truth on man's ruin and redemption ; unfolding the future and perfection of his being ; and flinging an ever-brightening radiance over the grandeur of his destiny—Christianity was, and is her *own* revealer ; her *own* oracle ; attending herself the heaven-lit fires that burn upon her altar.

Passing by, without a word, or a look of recognition, the exalted ranks of principalities and powers, thrones and dominions, she unveiled her beauty and whispered her message of mercy to the obscure, the despised, the pious poor. She visited the haunts of the people, and not the conclaves of priests or the palaces of kings. From the hill-tops by the shepherds her songs were first heard. Amid poverty, in the manger she took up her abode. She uttered her voice in the streets, and in the fields, in the fisherman's hut on the seashore, and in the chief places of concourse in the city. Leveling or ignoring all artificial distinctions, Christianity places each man on an equal platform before his Maker—*equally* dependent, *equally* responsible, and therefore *equally* free. This is the great conservative principle of human society—the freedom of the soul—a principle whose elements Christianity concentrates and proclaims.

She therefore sought not to sustain the tottering governments of the world, nor mingle as a rival or auxiliary in the contest for temporal domination. Hers was a higher mission, a sublimer struggle, a more lasting victory. "My kingdom," said the

Messiah, "is not of this world." He never intended that it should be linked to the state or sustained by human enactments. Radiant with light, and panoplied with the armor of Heaven, Christianity wins with her smiles and conquers with her charms ; but never does she ask or seek for human aid or alliance. Her "weapons are not carnal, but spiritual and mighty." In her mysterious and majestic march, in fulfilling her sublime mission, in achieving immortal conquests, and gathering up the enduring trophies of her splendid victories—she is sustained alone by the breath of Heaven ; a vital, matchless, spiritual energy.

Thus essentially and *ex necessitate* opposed to political or worldly alliances in every form, and claiming sole and absolute dominion over the spiritual man, to instruct, to condemn, to reward or punish ; she lifts her warning voice, and meets with her stern frown every encroachment on this her appropriate domain.

This being the character, the undeviating course of *true* Christianity—its founder and its apostles—it was met at the threshold, and at every step of its progress, by the malice of superstition and the vengeance of tyrants. With its promulgation by the Redeemer commenced the contest which eventuated in his death, and has continued under varied aspects through every age down to the present hour. As he proclaimed, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath annointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor ; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted ; to preach deliverance to the cap-

tive, and recovery of sight to the blind ; to set at liberty them that are bound.”* The “people heard him gladly.” “All bear him witness and wondered at his gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.” But “the chief priests, and the scribes, and the rulers of the people assembled in the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiphās, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill him.”†

Here was planned in secret the dark and bloody tragedy from whose enactment the sun withdrew its light, and which has so often been reacted by their successors since. It was the prototype of the conspiracies in which “rulers and priests” have joined, against the march of truth and the rights of humanity. “*But they said, not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people.*” Fearing the generous impulses of the masses, and the open light of day, the “*holy inquisition*” chose secrecy, subtilty, and night, as the means and the time to effect its purposes and crush its victim. They had claimed the right to interfere with man’s relations to his God. “For they bind heavy burdens,” said the Redeemer, “and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men’s shoulders.” It was the iniquitous and arrogant attempt of sinful men, to legislate for God, and enforce an abject reception of their own interpretations of his will.

It was a contest between authority and truth, oppression and freedom. “Tell us,” said the priests

* Luke iv. 18.

† Math., xxvi. 3. 4.

and rulers, "by what authority thou doest these things, or who is he"—what human power "gave thee this authority?"* Claiming to set on "Moses' seat" as his authoritative interpreters, they said, "We are Moses' deciples," but "as for this fellow, we know not whence he is." But against all such authority, Jesus appealed at once to the truthfulness of his doctrine, and the purity of his life. "Which of you convinceth me of sin?" "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of"—or desirous to know—"the truth, heareth my words."† "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me"—because not of your priestly order—"believe the works"—receive the truth on its evidence and intrinsic divinity—"that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him."‡ Here was a challenge to test the truth of every work, of every doctrine, without any appeal whatever to authority. If it is the opposite or antagonistic of God's revealed will; if it is corrupt, self-destroying, or self-evidently false, reject it, with whatever authority it may be clothed. But if its truthfulness be apparent, if it shrinks from no scrutiny, and answers to every test of reason and investigation, having stamped upon it the signet of heaven that it is from God, receive it, foster it, trust it, advocate it, if need be, die for it, though priests may brand it as heresy, and rulers punish it

* Luke, xx. 2.

† John xviii, 35.

‡ John x, 37, 38.

as crime. "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, *believe the works*." Truth was every thing, authority nothing. The weight of the latter could not invalidate the former, nor elevate imposition or absurdity ; and to suppress the utterance, or interrupt the progress of truth, by whatever authority, is high-handed rebellion against the throne of the Eternal, and the harmony of the universe. This spirit, so alien to the genius of Christianity, was exemplified in its awful features in the inquisition, and the condemnation of the Saviour. "The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine." The inquisitor was answered with a withering rebuke, in which was avowed the common and inalienable right of every man to express his convictions :- "I spake openly to the world ; I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort, and in secret I have said nothing. Why askest thou me ? ask them which heard me what I have said unto them. Behold, they know what I have said." This was the utterance of Christian freedom. How striking the contrast, when the hermit of Picardy, roused by imagined visions of wrong, and backed by Pope Urban, preached through Europe a *holy* war against the Saracens. In the Council of Placenza, and of Clermont, where the deliverance of Jerusalem was eloquently recommended, "IT IS THE WILL OF GOD,"* was the tumultuous cry which burst from the

* Robinson. Charles V.

assembled clergy. These words embodied not only the leading, prompting principle of the crusades, but the spirit of soul-despotism and of anti-Christianity. Here, in the words of Christ, is its opposite. "*If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight*, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not of this world."* "Put up thy sword into its sheath, for they that take the sword"—in the propagation of religion—"shall perish by the sword." Between Christianity and the crusades is the contrast of night and day.

Of this soul-liberty his whole life was the sublime impersonation. He developed it in his teaching; he embalmed it in his blood. Though a minor ray of his superior glory, it flings a peculiar beauty over his character; adds a splendor to his victories, supplies an imperishable monument to record his greatness, and emblazons, with undying lustre, the "many crowns" of the circlet which flashes from his brow. We reverence—we are almost inclined to worship the man who has suffered to bless mankind; who has sacrificed his life to a great truth, to a moral principle. "All religions," says Carlyle, "stand upon this; not only paganism, but far higher and nobler religions—all religions hitherto known. Hero-worship, heart-felt, burning, boundless, for a noblest form of Man, is it not the germ of Christianity itself? The greatest of all heroes is one whom I do not name here."† And if suffer-

* John xviii, 3, 6.

† Hero-Worship, p. 13.

ings the most intense, and triumphs the most splendid, merit that appellation, then does the Gallilean, aside from his divinity, rank unrivalled in the lists of fame. The kings of the earth had stood up against him. The rulers had taken council together. The pride of Cæsar, and the malignity of the Jewish priests ; Herod and Pilot, Annanias and Caiaphas, hostile in all their feelings, had united to crush him, and the principle he proclaimed. But his death was its triumph. He conquered when he fell, and in the person of his followers, he has continued to display the same indestructible power, which was ever greatest when seemingly overthrown. When "the beauty of Israel was slain on his high mountains," David took up the lamentation for departed Saul. "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings ; for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil. How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished." But far different the fate of Calvary to that of Gilboa. The shield of a mightier than Saul was there cast to the earth ; not to scathe it with barrenness, or smite it with a curse, but to diffuse an influence as benignant as wonderful—to invite not the thunder, but the dews of heaven. There vital air is breathed, a holier light is shed, and spirits of mercy linger to record the sufferings and triumphs of the prince, the champion, the achiever of spiritual freedom. The blessings of that victory shall be the theme of endless rapture, and the source of inexhaustible delight.

CHAPTER III.

STRUGGLES IN GREECE.

“WHERE TROY WAS,” slept with his few companions an obscure and homeless man, who, in obedience to the command of his master, went everywhere preaching the truth. During the night, a voice from across the Ægean sounded beseechingly in his ear, “Come over to Macedonia and help us.” In obedience to the heavenly indication, he crossed that classic sea, not as did the proud Persian, with the “pomp of glorious war,” but in humble garb, with barbarian accent, and unaided by human power, to announce a truth which should startle from their repose the hoary mythology, and the boasted wisdom of Greece.

He stood for the first time amid its enchanting beauties. Its consecrated groves, where poetry had tuned her harp, or philosophy held converse with her children, its breathing statuary and monumental columns, whose silent eloquence awoke thrilling echoes in the soul—splendors which even now call up in many minds a strange yet pleasing idolatry—were then all clad in the autumnal charms of their vicious loveliness. But Paul, the accomplished apostle to the Gentiles, heeded them not. However pleasing in themselves, their object and associations threw a gloom over their beauty. A theme far more glorious than poetry or human philosophy

filled his soul. He was there to preach the gospel—to announce the glad tidings of deliverance from superstition and moral death. This was the introduction of Christianity into Europe; and how was it met? As it has ever been treated since by its malicious foes, with interference, imprisonment, and torture.

Paul and his companions were dragged before the civil magistrate, and accused of teaching “customs which were not lawful”—a religion which the laws condemned. “And the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them. And when they had laid many stripes on them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely.”* Thrust into a dungeon among felons, with every added insult and injury that their persecutors could inflict, they offered no apology, uttered no beseeching entreaties, but sublimely trusting in the strength of him whom they served, and the eternal right of their principles, and the freedom they claimed; in darkness, in chains, and in pain—still asserting and demonstrating that freedom which tyrants could not fetter—their souls rose on the wing of faith amid the fervors of devotion, and not

In silence nor in fear—

They shook the depths of the prison gloom,
With their hymns of lofty cheer—

Amid the storm they sung.

Paul—claiming, as the apostles ever did, the right
“to obey God rather than men,” and protesting

* Acts xvi, 22-24.

against every law which imposed its veto on thought, or sought to fetter its free expression—Paul was the first champion of religious liberty, and the first martyr to it, in Greece or in Europe. Socrates, much as we justly revere his purity and moral heroism, never rose above the laws which punished impiety with death, nor claimed it as his right to follow his *own* religious convictions. In his defence before his judges he said: “My duty is to persuade you if I can, but you have sworn to follow your own convictions, in judging according to the laws, not to make the laws bend to your partiality; and it is your duty so to do. Far be it from me to habituate you to perjury; far be it from me to contract any such habit. Do not, therefore, require of me proceedings dishonorable in reference to myself and impious in regard to you, especially at a time when I am myself rebutting an accusation of impiety advanced by Miletus.”* The right of the state to make laws regulating religion he here admitted; the duty of the citizen to obey these laws, and not transcend them, he acknowledged. “But,” said Paul, in triumph, “when it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen immediately, I conferred not with flesh and blood.”† He regarded no human enactments, acknowledged the supremacy and obligations of no law that conflicted with his solemn impressions of duty. “I WAS BORN FREE,” was his answer to the Roman tribune and centurion, when he was being bound

* Grote, vol. viii, p. 654.

† Gal. i, 15-16.

with thongs to be examined by scourging. "Men, brethren, and fathers, I have, heretofore, lived before God with a good conscience," was his vindication before his judges; and, when Annanias, provoked by this self-vindication, ordered him to be smitten on the mouth, he hurled back defiance, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall."

Among the splendors of superstitious Athens, where every spot had its altar, every fountain and stream the commemorative marble of "its own bright Naiad," and the winds their "immortal tower"—where the temples of Jupiter and the Olympian gods shone along the plain; and the high Acropolis, with its "tiara of proud towers," rose like a guardian deity over the consecrated city—before the sages of the Athenian school, on the classic ground of the Agora, where Athens' wisest son once led his disciples along the walks of moral truth; or before the august court of the Areopagus, on the hill of Mars, with all Athens beneath and around him—he displayed the same reliance in truth, the same fearlessness in its utterance, the same advocacy of soul-freedom, and the inborn right to challenge the hoary forms of superstition, with whatever splendor enrobed, or with whatever authority crowned.

Champion of freedom, what records remain of thy sufferings, what monuments perpetuate thy deeds! The epitome of all is here in his own burning words: "Are they ministers of Christ? I am more: in labors more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews, five times received I forty stripes save

one. Thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned; thrice suffered shipwreck; a night and a day have I been in the deep. In journeyings often; in perils of robbers; in perils by mine own countrymen; in perils by the heathen; in perils in the city; in perils in the wilderness; in perils in the sea; in perils among false brethren. In weariness and painfulness in watchings often; in hunger and thirst, in fastings often; in cold and nakedness; yet I will glory in mine infirmities.”* Closing such a life, sacrificed to the cause of truth and freedom, when did martyred hero utter words more sublime than these: “For now I am ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand. I HAVE FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT, I HAVE FINISHED MY COURSE, I HAVE KEPT THE FAITH, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness.” Men may make long-resounding plaudits, and rear costly statues to honor the memory of those, who, amid the dangers of the battle field, have snatched the triumphs of victorious war, or have bid a conquered world tremble at their feet; but here are deeds, in comparison with which the wonders of chivalry and the splendors of conquest shrink to insignificance; and whose example and influence shall be felt and shall bless, when the favorites of fame are forgotten.

“Time his triumphs shall proclaim,
And his rich reward be this,
Immortality of fame,
Immortality of bliss.”

* 2 Corinthians xi, 23-27.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLES IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

IMPERIAL ROME, more liberal than its gloomy successor, permitted every conceivable form of religious devotion; but, as in Rome at the present day, she compelled all to honor, with *religious* rights and ceremonies, her deified pontiffs and rulers.

"Swear," said the Roman pro-consul to the venerable pastor of the Church in Smyrna, "swear by the genius of Cæsar; retract and say, Away with the godless!" "Swear, and I release thee; blaspheme Christ, and you shall be free." "Retract, and you shall be spared," repeated many an inquisitor monk in after ages, to the humble Christian chained to the stake. "Eighty and six years," was the touching response of Polycarp, "have I served Christ, and he has never done me an injury; how can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"

"I will expose thee to the wild beasts," said the magistrate.

"'Tis well for me to be released from this life of misery," was his only reply.

He threatened to burn him alive. "I fear not the fire that burns for a moment; thou knowest not that which burns forever."

He was disrobed and bound to the stake, and after several ineffectual attempts, his body was reduced to ashes.

“Are you Thascius Cyprianus?” said the Roman pro-consul to Cyprian.

Cyp. “I am.”

Pro. “You have suffered yourself to be made a chief of these men holding sacrilegious opinions.”

Cyp. “I have.”

Pro. “The majesty of the Emperor requires thee to perform the ceremonies of our state religion.”

Cyp. “That I cannot do.”

Pro. “Think of your own safety.”

Cyp. “I am a Christian. I acknowledge no other deity than the one true God.”

The pro-consul pronounced the following sentence: “You have lived a long time in impiety, and have conspired to pervert other men, constituting yourself the enemy of the Roman gods. You shall be made a warning to those whom you have conjoined with you in your wickedness.”

“God be praised,” said Cyprian. With serene courage he sealed his testimony with his blood.

These illustrious instances of Christian heroism occurred in the provinces of the Roman empire. These provinces included the civilized world—a population of not less than a hundred and twenty millions—whose collective energy was fearfully matched against the emancipating power of Christianity. That unrivalled empire was at the height of its renown; in the noontide of its strength. That energy, that strength, were concentrated to crush, and scatter to the four winds, this heaven-born principle and its struggling champions. But onward they went, gathering fresh power from each appa-

rent overthrow; and, as if the gory arm of murder had endued them with fresh life, they rose in renovated vigor from the very blow that menaced their destruction. The darkness of Rome was illuminated by the flames that consumed them; their blood streamed in torrents, to appease the horrid demon of tyranny; and their exposure to the wild beasts—their groans, their quivering limbs, and cruel deaths, became the favorite pastime of the brutal populace. Yet, everywhere was their standard planted, and everywhere did glory crown it. It waived over Athens, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, Ephesus, and even Babylon. “There is not a nation,” says Justin Martyr, “either of Greek or barbarian, or any other name, even of those who wander in tribes or who live in tents, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered to our Father and Creator of the universe, in the name of the crucified Jesus.” We are but of yesterday, says Tertullian, “but we have filled every thing that is yours—cities, islands, castles, free towns, council halls, the very camps,—all classes of men, the palace, the senate, the forum. We can number you armies; there are more Christians in a single province. Even if unequal in force, is there any war, for which we, who so readily submit to death, should not be prepared and prompt, did not *religion teach us to be slain, rather than to slay.*” Everywhere aggressive, and everywhere triumphant, Christianity soon unfurled its banner over the capital of Rome and a conquered world. But it “was not by human might, nor human power;” And as soon as she

touched the summit of her militant glory, and emperors followed in her train, and rulers gathered round her throne, and material splendor, and pomp and pride, and patronage, and political power, corrupted her ministers, and eclipsed with their gorgeousness her own simple beauty ; and instituted for her convincing truth the authority of man, and the sanctions of emperors and councils—when soul-freedom was ignored, and its advocates banished—she retired with them to the wilderness, to rally their scattered forces and commence the battle again. All that was left in the scenes of her recent triumph, were the name, the outward form—the splendid corpse destitute of life and light, the gorgeous temple whence the divinity had departed.

And now commenced the struggle among the foes of freedom, as to who should be earth's master—enslave and rule it. The city of Rome had long been the mistress of the world ; an awe was inspired by its very name. Constantinople was the imperial residence, eclipsing with its growing splendor its rival city on the Seven Hills. Which of the two principal pastors in those great and rival cities should be the bishop of bishops ? They both claimed it, while each upbraided the other's arrogance.

“I confidently say,” wrote Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, “that whosoever calls himself universal bishop, or desires to be so called, in his arrogance, is the forerunner of anti-Christ.”*

The dispute was decided in the year 606, by

* Lib. vi, Ep. 30.

Phocas, who had murdered the Emperor of Rome, Mauritius, and his six sons and two daughters. To reward the Roman bishop, he conferred upon him the ambitious title of universal bishop; and to obtain this prize, the Pope sanctioned the murderer and usurper. With demon cruelty Phocas despatched the ministers of death to Chalcedon, where the aged Emperor had taken refuge, after resigning all claims to the purple. He was dragged from his sanctuary, and his five sons successively murdered before the eyes of their agonized parent. "At each stroke which he felt in his heart, he exclaimed, Thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgments are righteous." The tragic scene was closed by the death of the Emperor himself.* Over this dark tragedy Gregory raised a shout of joy.

The title of universal bishop had been settled on the Patriarch of Constantinople by a decree of the fallen Emperor. Gregory rejoiced in his fall, and in fulsome flattery wrote to the murderer: "We have hitherto been most grievously afflicted; but the Almighty hath chosen you, and placed you on the imperial throne, to banish, by your merciful disposition, all our afflictions. Let the heavens, therefore, rejoice. Let the earth leap for joy. Let the whole people return thanks for so happy a change. May the Holy Ghost, that dwells in your breast, ever guide and assist you; that you may, after a long course of years, pass from an earthly and temporal, to an everlasting and heavenly kingdom."† The

* Baronius Gib. iii, p. 228.

† Gibbon, p. 225.

thing was done—the conspiracy between the traitor and the murderer was successful. Phocas became emperor; and though Gregory did not live to receive, in his own person, the coveted title and power for which he had successfully struggled, Boniface III, three years after the death of Gregory, prevailed on the bloody monster, Phocas, to revoke the former decree, and settle on the bishop of Rome the title of *universal bishop*.*

This was the triumph of soul-oppression. Henceforth its champions uttered their thunders from the Vatican. The title of universal bishop had been worn by the patriarchs of Constantinople as a proud badge of honor, but transferred to the Pope, he used it as an iron wheel to torture and grind down humanity. What a Pope had branded as “vain, proud, impious, blasphemous, anti-Christian, heretical, execrable, diabolical,† when transferred to himself, was worn and claimed as the crown of christianity. Obtained by intrigue and treachery, and granted by a base and bloody tyrant, it was soon made an article of faith, the rejection of which was to be visited by banishment and death here, and eternal ruin hereafter.

A council was soon called by the Pope at Rome. He had it decreed that no election of a bishop should henceforth be deemed lawful unless confirmed by him. “*Volumus et jubemus*—we will, and command,” were the lofty terms he employed. This

* Cardinal Baronius justifies the Pope at the expense of the fallen empire. See Gibbon, note, p. 225.

† Greg. i, 4, ep. 32.—See Bawer’s Lives of the Popes.

bound the bishops, in all countries, to the Pope of Rome, and through them the inferior priests, and through these the enslaved people. Right and liberty were gone. Oppression and corruption everywhere prevailed. Says a great Romanist writer :

“These times, through the ambition and cruel tyranny of the popes, were extremely unhappy ; for the popes, setting aside the fear of God and his worship, fell into such enmities among themselves, as cruel tyrants exercise to one another.” (*Phil. Burgomansis, ann. 908*)

And, says one of the greatest prelates Rome has ever produced, and whose authority she regards :

“In the west, and almost all the world over, especially among those who are called the faithful, faith failed, and there was no fear of God among them. Justice was perished among men, and violence prevailing against equity, governed among the nations. Fraud, deceit, and the acts of cozenage were grown universal. All kind of virtue gave way as a useless thing, and wickedness supplied its place. The world seemed to be declining apace towards its evening, and the second coming of the Son of Man to draw near ; for love was grown cold, and faith was not found upon earth. All things were in confusion, and the world looked as though it would return again to its old chaos. All sorts of * * * * * were committed, with the same freedom as if they had been lawful actions ; for men neither blushed at them, nor were punished for them. Nor did the clergy live better than the people ; for the bishops had grown negligent of the duties of their place,”* &c. &c.

* Bell. sec. lib. i, cap. 18.

This is the picture of Papal Rome's meridian glory, drawn, not by the hand of an opponent, but by her learned defender, her favorite cardinal, her canonized saint, Bellarmine. "We begin," says Hallam, in investigating this period, "in darkness and calamity; and though the shadows grow fainter as we advance, yet we are to break off our pursuit as the morning breathes upon us, and the twilight reddens into the lustre of day." "I cannot, indeed, conceive any state of society more adverse to the intellectual improvement of mankind, than one which admitted of no middle line between gross dissoluteness and fanatical mortification." "Such implicit submissiveness could only have produced superstition and hypocrisy in the laity, and prepared the road for a tyranny not less oppressive than that of India or ancient Egypt."* It was the day of triumph of the foes of freedom. It was the iron rule of spiritual despotism. The reign of terror and of superstition. The ghostly night of the dark ages. The period to which the soldiers of the Pope point us as the noontide splendor of their Church, and whose return is the cherished object of their aims.

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, p. 467-8.

CHAPTER V.

STRUGGLES IN ROME—ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.

A BRIGHT star rose on the darkness of the twelfth century. Oppression, rayless, withering, soul-crushing, mantling the world everywhere, rested like a pall of death on the Seven Hilled city. In the centre of this gloom, where its folds were deepest and darkest, a light sprung up like a beacon on the waste,—a startling voice of life among the mansions of the dead. In Rome, beneath the dread shadow of the Vatican, was the standard of soul-freedom unfurled; and the high priests of oppression roused from their security and repose, by the trumpet of liberty sounded with echoing blast, by the disciple of Abelard,—ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.

With a bold and commanding eloquence, a purity of life on which his bitterest foes have fixed no stain, and a courage which united the lofty daring of the hero and the sublime trust of a saint, “he presumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world.”* He boldly maintained that the spiritual and temporal concerns of man were distinct. That their alliance was corrupting and ruinous to both. That the “sword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magistrate.” That

* Gibbon, vol. iv, p. 366.

voluntary offerings from the faithful should support those spiritual laborers who are "worthy of their hire." That exactions by law, for the support of the Church, was the highest criminality. And that the Pope himself must renounce his despotic claims as a temporal sovereign, or else renounce Christianity and his hopes of salvation.

He addressed the people with the enthusiasm of a patriot, and the fervor of an apostle. He spoke to men of an antique freedom which was their right. "He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to respect the name of the emperor, but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock." His doctrine—freedom to worship God—was branded by "THE POPE AS THE HERESY OF THE POLITICIANS,"* and in the "*general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves, were urged by prejudice and fear, to execute the sentence of the Church.*"†

Driven out of Italy by Pope Innocent II, and his council, he took refuge in Switzerland. But the vengeance of the tyrant pursued him to the city where Zwinglius long afterward fell in defence of freedom. The fierce exhortations of *St. Bernard* called with *holy fervor* for his blood. The apostle of freedom, with the same fearless spirit breathed in the words of Paul—"I am ready to preach the gospel to them that are at Rome also,"—planted himself in the midst of his foes, breasted the storm

* Lardner's Italian Republics, by Sismondi, p. 46.

† Gibbon iv, 369.

of persecution, and with the sublime example of his divine Master before him, as

“ A gate of steel,
Fronting the sun, receives and renders back
His figure and his heat

—he flashed the light of truth, in burning eloquence, over the Seven Hills.

Freedom triumphed. Rome woke from the slumber and slavery of ages. The Pontiff, stripped of temporal power, was stripped of all he valued—all that could support his spiritual despotism. His sceptre had departed, and like his present successor, he fled before the breath of freedom, and left the city. Against it he levelled all his power, and sought foreign aid to reduce it to subjection. As many years as did old Troy, Rome withstood the seige. By means of a superstition, as gross as that which regarded with fear and reverence the famous Grecian horse, was it finally subdued. Rome was laid under edict. The Pope, in the name of deity, refused the ceremonies of the Church, and barred up the gates of heaven to all who continued in the “*political heresy*.” However pure their faith or their lives, the horrors of the damned were the certain consequences of their political creed. Terror seized the city. In vain did the intrepid reformer appeal to reason and the word of God. Rome succumbed, and the triple tyrant trampled in triumph on their prostrate necks. But the banishment of Arnaldo did not satisfy his vengeance. He pressed upon the emperor the pernicious tendency of this political heresy, “WHICH MUST SUBVERT THE PRIN-

CIPLES OF CIVIL AS WELL AS ECCLESIASTICAL SUBORDINATION." And these two foes of human rights—Frederic Barbarossa, and Adrian, the high-priest of Romanism—united to "crush the wretch" who dared to utter the word FREEDOM. The brave, the pure, the learned and eloquent Arnold of Brescia, was burnt alive, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber, for denying the temporal power of the Pope; for advocating the religious liberty which we now enjoy; for being guilty of what the infallible head branded as a "political heresy," and denounced as deserving death. To appease the vengeance, and feast the eyes of the "*holy father*," was Arnold of Brescia immolated on a burning pile.* "The clergy triumphed in his death," as their predecessors among the Jews did over his divine Master's; "and with his ashes his followers were dispersed."

But his memory lives in the minds of the Romans; and his spirit still lingers round the scenes of his sufferings. Again will it be kindled, and that name become the watchword of victory. And yet, over the spot where the flames consumed him, will some towering monument record his greatness and his virtue; when the power which has trampled on human rights, and has rioted in human blood, shall have sunk, like the apocalyptic mill-stone, in the deep, and no traces remain of the ruin it has wrought.

* Baronius calls him the father of the political heresy or religious liberty, such as hurt him in France.

CHAPTER VI.

STRUGGLES IN EUROPE.

THE dim visions of universal dominion, which kindled the ambition of Pope Gregory the Great, in deepening splendors thronged on the soul of his successor, Hildebrand—Gregory the Seventh. With him they were not mere visions. They were glorious triumphs almost within his grasp; and only to be battled for, in order to be won. The impending struggle was before him; and he girded himself for the contest.

When he ascended the throne, whose first occupancy fable gave to a married apostle, his holiness was shocked at the impurity of that holy right, which never sullied even the spotless innocence of Eden. A council was called at Lateran, and not only the marriage of priests was forbidden, but, every married priest was commanded at once to put away his wife.* The decree was answered by complaints and reproaches. “Were ties the most sacred to be suddenly severed at the bidding of an Italian priest?” “Were men to become angels, or were angels to come down from heaven to minister to men?” Never was eloquence more touching, more just, more unavailing. The struggle was brief. Gregory

* Sismondi, his Italian Republics, p. 39.

triumphed. The decree of Hildebrand still rules the Latin Church, a gloomy monument of papal despotism. This first victory was followed by yet bolder undertakings. Concentrating all the power of the infallible Church in himself, he taught the faithful that he was an unerring being—"A GOD UPON EARTH."* Before his eye rose a vast theocratic state, wide as the world, and blending and harmonizing in its government religion and politics, while the King of kings, from the city of the Cæsars, should rule it with absolute sway.

From his throne, beneath the sculptured roof of the Vatican, robed in the gorgeous vestments of his pontifical sovereignty; and looking down through the far-receding aisles on the array of ecclesiastical princes and lords, before whom "Henry, Emperor of Germany, was summoned to be tried"—asserting a jurisdiction so majestic, and saluted by the roll of music and ascending incense, symbolic of the prayers of the universal Church—Hildebrand arose, and lifting his eyes to heaven, with a voice echoing amid breathless silence, through the fretted arches of that lofty pile he invoked the holy Peter; and in the name of the Trinity, and by the power and authority of Peter, "interdicted to King Henry, son of Henry the Emperor, the government of the whole realm of Germany and Italy; absolved all Christians from their oaths of allegiance to him, and bound him with the bond of anathema."†

* Sismondi, p. 37, and Book of Gregory ix, Decret. 3.

† St. Mark, tom. iii, p. 235.

He hurled, with degrading insult, Basilaus from the throne of Poland, and prohibited the election of a new king without his approbation. He informed the King of France that every house in his dominions owed Peter a penny, as their father and pastor, and commanded his legates to collect it as a token of the subjection of France to the Holy See. He assured Solomon, King of Hungary, that his territories were the property of the successor of Peter. To Sardinia he sent a despatch, claiming their obedience, and threatening a Roman invasion in case of refusal. On the Duke of Dalmatia he conferred the title of King, reserving the payment of two hundred pieces of silver to the "holy Pope and his successors, as supreme lords of the Dalmatian dominions." From Sueno, the Dane, he exacted terms of subjection. In France and Spain his legates exercised the same power. The world trembled at the feet of the tyrant who everywhere claimed absolute authority, spiritual and temporal.*

One memorable exception should be noticed. William I. was addressed in accents of tenderness and flattery. The Norman Conqueror of England, steeped in sacrilege and blood, was termed his "dutiful son." One hundred and seventy-five years from the death of Hildebrand, Innocent the Third declared the throne of England vacant; and re-instated the pusillanimous monarch as a sworn vassal, who received the sceptre as a gift from the Roman See, to whom it would be forfeited should he or his

* Lardner's Outlines of History, p. 193.

successors renounce the supremacy of the Pope. And when the incensed Britons wrung from the tyrant John the great charter of English freedom, Innocent issued his decree;*—"We order all the English and Irish lords to *renounce* the privileges which they have extorted from the king; and WE ORDER THEM TO LAY THEIR DEMANDS BEFORE US." The *Magna Charta*—that glorious foundation of English freedom—was *extorted* from the Pope's vassal, through a general fear and disgust, awakened by the submission and alliance of that vassal to the Pope his master. And, that guarantee of liberty, thus gained, was condemned by the Pope, who commanded that it be RENOUNCED.†

While Innocent was extending his temporal power over the British isles, his agents were hunting down, with savage vengeance, the peaceful Christians among the valleys of Piedmont. He had been informed by the Bishop of Metz, that no small number of men and women met to hear the Scriptures read to them in French, and preached to each other; and when reprimanded by the priests for so doing, justified their conduct by reasons drawn from Scripture. This was all the Pope himself charged against them; but this was sufficient.‡ Innocent published a crusade against them, calling on France

* Hume's History of England. Rider, p. 124.

† Strange, that any one in the face of these well known facts, should have the temerity to claim for the Church of Rome any credit for the *Magna Charta*.

‡ Opera Innocent III, p. 468, by Hallam. Middle Ages, p. 29.

to take up the cross, and exterminate the heretics. Languedoc was laid waste.* Its cities were burnt; its inhabitants driven from their peaceful homes, or destroyed by fire and sword. And this for asserting their right to meet and worship their Creator according to the convictions awakened by reading his own word.

Innocent, looking down from the dizzy height to which superstition had permitted him to climb—the towering spire of the mighty fabric of Roman Christianity in the middle ages—is said to have seen, in a dream, “the order of the Dominicans shadowed forth by a great tree, on which leaned for support the Church of the Lateran, on the point of falling.” Ah! this tree, which his ambition, his fears, and his cruelty planted and reared, was the dread night shade blossoming with death. Yet on this fiend-invented support—the Inquisition and the Order of St. Dominic—has the “infallible Church” tremblingly leaned. Remove this support, and even in Rome itself, would the whole establishment sink forever in the disgusting floods of its own corruption.

* The Albigensian war commenced with the storming of Beziers, and a massacre, wherein fifteen thousand persons, or, according to some narrations, sixty thousand, were put to the sword. Not a living soul escaped, as witnesses assure us. It was here that a Cistercian monk, who led on the crusaders, answered the inquiry, how the Catholics were to be distinguished from the heretics. *Kill them all! God will know his own.* (Hallam's Middle Ages, p. 39, quoted from Sismondi, *Literature du Mide*, tom. i, p. 201.)

CHAPTER VII.

THE EFFECTS OF FREEDOM.

It would be interesting to sketch the struggles of freedom in Bohemia, in Spain, in France, and England,* and trace the effects of oppression, and the blessings of freedom, where the one is borne or the other is enjoyed.

From the time when John de Wicliff, from Oxford, and Lutterworth, proclaimed with fearless accents the truth of the gospel, and hurled defiance at the Pope and his minions, England pressed steadily on in "Freedom's march sublime." To the advocacy of soul-freedom, Sawtre, and Sir John Oldcastle, fell a sacrifice; the Lollards met the fate of the peeled and scattered Albigenis.† But the work went on.* The kindling dawn could not be quenched, nor the gates of light closed, nor clasped by the fetters of tyranny. While Henry the Eighth and Pope Clement the Seventh, were contesting who should

* This was the intention of the writer at the outset, and a sketch of the character and heroism of Sir John Oldcastle, of England, and of P.escillian, of Spain, were prepared; but the prescribed limits allowed him, has made it necessary to condense a number of its chapters into one.

† "By some computations, those who perished by those cruelties are made to amount to 150, or 200,000; by the most moderate, and perhaps the most probable accounts, they must have been near 40,000." (Hume's History of England, vol. iv.

hold the keys of spiritual slavery, the doors were suddenly burst, and freedom claimed its birthright. Upward and onward it moved, with growing strength and brightness, like the sun marching on through storm and gloom, till above the land of the pilgrims—of Roger Williams and of Washington—it gained its zenith, and still shines enthroned in cloudless glory.

The light and blessings of soul-freedom here, have transformed a wilderness into a comparative Eden. The gloom and curse of soul-oppression have blasted with worse than withering mildew, the brightest garden spots of the old world. Spain, the home of chivalry; the once proud mistress of the world; whose navies swept the seas, whose dependencies circled the earth, and whose guarantees of liberty were far in advance of any contemporary nation,—Spain seemed placed by Providence under priestly oppression, to show the world the effects of spiritual despotism on the happiness and prosperity of a nation. As the gloomy Philip, accompanied by his queen and surrounded by his court, the nobles of the land and the beauty of the palace, sat enthroned within the grand plaza of Valladolid, and witnessed without a pang the writhing sufferers slowly burning at the stake for their religious opinions, the last dark tint was given to the picture which modern Spain presents. And look at her now. A dreary waste haunted by monks and beggars. With little agriculture, industry, trade, or means of communication, while in the midst of this African-like desert stands the Escorial—fit abode of the destroying angel

of the land. And shall this clime of ours ever be darkened by the gloom that settled on that country of the orange tree and the nightingale—that once glorious land? Religious liberty has made us what we are; religious slavery would reduce us to a state of degradation deeper, if possible, than even Spain.

No wonder that the tyrants of the old world envy us the blessings we enjoy, and tremble at our growing strength, and the influence of our example on the down-trodden nations of the old world. The influence of our revolution startled the monarchs of Europe, and kindled the sparks of freedom in the masses of her population. Everywhere was it felt; and soon the first blow for liberty was struck at the order of Jesuits—those secret foes of God and man—the spies and tools, and body-guard of tyrants. Called into existence to check the tide of progress and freedom which the Reformation burst upon the world, they had fought their battle sternly, unscrupulously, and triumphantly in most parts of Europe. They were the battlements, the first foes to be disarmed, if liberty would be won. Their hour was come. In February 9th, 1769, Pope Clement XIII, was called to his account. Ganganelli—by base corruption and intrigue, according to the Jesuits—succeeded to the “throne of St. Peter.” He suppressed the Order, and it cost him his life. The army of the Jesuits was scattered, and liberal principles spread through Europe with the rapidity of the wind. The French revolution, the downfall of tyrants, including the Pope, was the consequence. “I said so long ago,” said the subtle Prince De

Legne, "*that if the Jesuits had not been driven away, we would not now see this cursed spirit of independence.*"* The monarchs of Europe convinced of this, as soon as they established themselves again on their shaken thrones, united—Protestant, Catholic, and Russo-Greek—to re-establish the Jesuits, as their most reliable auxiliaries in putting out the "spirit of independence," which had blazed during their suppression. But in tracing back the remote causes of that suppression and its effects, they beheld free America still proclaiming to the world that liberty might be won and maintained.

In 1825, the ministry of Charles XII, declared that "the conversion of republican America to Roman Catholicism was of the highest importance, *not only* to religion, but to the political condition of Europe." In 1828, Frederick Schlegel, in a series of lectures before the Court of Austria, said: "The political revolutions to which the European governments had been so long subjected, from the popular desire of liberty, are the natural effects of the Protestant reformation;" and that "the great nursery of these destructive (republican) principles, the revolutionary school of France, and the rest of Europe, is NORTH AMERICA." In the following year, the imperial court organized a society for "*promoting the greater activity of Catholic measures in the United States.*" This is the great Leopoldine foundation, through whose aid, under the patronage of Prince Metternich, the Roman Church has so

* See letter of the Father Jesuits in the Preface.

rapidly grown during the last twenty years. Austrian Jesuits have been poured in upon us. Emigration has swelled the ranks of the laity, and foreign gold has erected splendid buildings, and placed almost unlimited power in the hands of the hierarchy.

America is the stronghold of freedom. Against it the engines of despots are directed. Once destroyed, and the very name of freedom is gone. Here, then, the final battle must be fought. Here the triumph of oppression would tell on the wide world through all coming time. Foes are mustered for the combat; the notes of preparation are heard. Lovers of your country, inheritors of the glory with which your ancestry have crowned it, the eyes of the world are upon you; the temple of liberty is committed to your keeping. Guard it; defend it; send up for it your prayers; if need be, sacrifice for it your lives.

“We must forget all feelings save the *one* ;
We must resign all passions save our purpose :
We must behold no object save our country,
And only look on death as beautiful,
So that the sacrifice ascend to Heaven
And draw down freedom on her universe ”

INTRODUCTION

AND

LETTERS TO BISHOP SPALDING.

BISHOP SPALDING'S LECTURE.

MESSRS. EDITORS—

Dr. Spalding, in selecting Sunday night as the time for delivering his lectures on Catholicism, has debarred those to whom he frequently alludes from the privilege of hearing and answering him. The Protestant ministers of this city have therefore taken no notice, and probably are not aware of the frequent and equivocal compliments paid them by the Bishop.

The Doctor's lectures are evidently for the benefit, not only of the Catholic, but also the Protestant citizens of Louisville. He can, therefore, feel in no way offended when inquiries are addressed to him, or his statements received with doubt. Inquiries and objections have been sent to the Bishop, which, while he has given them a respectful public notice, he declined to answer, but referred the inquirer to his published lectures. He has stated, for instance, that *Catholic* France was the fast friend of religious toleration; that Romanism was the friend and not

the foe of Republicanism and freedom; that the power of the Pope was limited to things spiritual; and that he has never arrogated the right, nor has it been claimed for him by the Catholic Church, to control or direct the citizen in his political action or his allegiance to the civil government of his country.

Now, there are those who heard the Bishop's lecture, and among them the writer, who think they can show, as clearly as any historical fact can be shown, that every Pope that has occupied the Vatican has claimed a supremacy over all civil government, and whenever he has had the ability he has enforced this right. In addition to this, it is believed that Roman Catholicism is necessarily and essentially anti republic and intolerant; and that *Catholic* France has a history stained with the blood of religious persecution—merciless and revolting!

Dr. Spalding has the advantage over those who differ with him, which we would suppose his confidence in what he asserts, his acknowledged ability, and his characteristic fairness would induce him, for once at least, to yield. It is this: his lectures at the Cathedral are listened to not only by his own people, but also by Protestants; but we all know that, should a Protestant minister answer his lectures, Catholics would not be among the auditory. But were the Bishop to discuss these questions with a Protestant, not only would both sides be heard, but both classes would hear; and to this Bishop Spalding would certainly not object. He certainly could not fear the consequence of Catholics hearing his arguments and statements candidly investigated.

We therefore respectfully ask Bishop Spalding if he is willing to discuss, on the platform or otherwise, the subjects on which he has recently lectured at the Cathedral? Will he publicly discuss the question involved in his last lecture, "The Power of the Pope?" If he will, he shall be met, with the greatest respect for his talents and position.

S. H. FORD.

LETTER FROM BISHOP SPALDING.

MESSRS. EDITORS—

In reply to a communication in your paper of this morning, signed S. H. Ford, allow me to say that my lectures are intended to vindicate the doctrines and character of the Catholic Church; not, certainly, to assail any other denomination. This intention has been explicitly stated more than once; and I am willing to leave it to the large and intelligent audience which favor me with their attendance, to decide whether and how far it has been carried out. I certainly did not assail the Protestant ministers of this city, much less the Protestant Churches. I aimed to discuss principles, not men. I have endeavored to answer current popular objections against my Church, by applying to them the best of logical reasoning from first principles. Surely,

when attacks upon my Church have been so general, and not unfrequently so bitter and unscrupulous, especially during the last year, no impartial man can object to my suitable vindication, which is, in fact, expected and called for by public opinion. I could not, of course, expect that any defense I could make would be satisfactory to all my hearers. But those who are not content have their obvious remedy; they have their churches, their ministers, and a population siding with them in opinion, far outnumbering the Catholic community of the city, as well as much more wealthy and influential; let them answer lecture by lecture, or rather let them do what I am honestly endeavoring to do—defend their own principles without assailing their neighbors. An intelligent public would thus be placed in a position to decide for themselves, and with them I am perfectly willing to leave the decision.

I am opposed to the discussion of religious subjects through the secular press; and still more so to the haranguing on the subject of religion before promiscuous crowds. Such discussions could scarcely have any other effect than to widen instead of closing the breach among Christians, to excite passion and awaken prejudice, rather than to promote charity, and bring them to that calm temper of mind which is so necessary a condition for arriving at that truth through which we expect to save our immortal souls. Besides, newspaper controversies and personal altercations, almost inseparable from oral discussions, lower the dignity of religion, and

bring what is too sacred to be lightly or irreverently hauled down* to the level of human discussion on merely human affairs.

Your correspondent is mistaken in stating that I did not answer "the inquiries and objections sent to me." But one inquiry was made, and I answered it, not once, but twice: stating each time, that as I had treated the subject in full in my introductory lecture—which, it seems, the inquirer had not heard, certainly through no fault of mine—and, as I could not go over the same ground again without interrupting my course, and doing injustice to the large audience who had come to hear me on a special subject, already announced, I begged to refer the inquirer for further elucidation to a work of Cardinal Wiseman, and to my published lectures, where this particular topic was discussed at length.—I also announced that I would deliver a special lecture on the subject to which his inquiry pointed. Your correspondent surely should have been more full and exact in his statements.

Every body knows the old adage about asking and answering questions. I believe that nothing new can be said against the Catholic Church; and that the usual objections have been already alleged, and *better alleged*—a thousand times, and *answered too*, much better than I could hope to answer them. It requires, then, no great confidence in myself to say that, if such of my hearers as may wish for further information, will put their inquiries or objec-

* "Hauled down" has been since corrected to "handled."

tions in writing, making them brief, and couching them in polite language, I will take great pleasure in devoting a special lecture to the solution of difficulties so proposed. God knows my heart, and He knows that I wish for nothing but the truth, the saving truth, as it is in Jesus Christ.

With these few words of explanation, I shall not probably deem it necessary to notice any thing else which may appear in the public prints, having reference either to myself or to the Catholic Church. I mean to attack no denomination of Christians, much less those of this city; and if the Protestant ministers will adopt a similar course, we will all live in peace; and those who conscientiously differ, will charitably agree to disagree, as becomes those who claim to be disciples of a Master who inculcated charity as His chief commandment.

M. J. SPALDING.

LETTER I.

RIGHT REV. M. J. SPALDING:

Sir—Your communication in the *Courier* of Thursday, was certainly a most singular document to come from the hands of a Catholic Bishop. You must certainly have calculated while writing it, that it would call forth an answer. You have therefore taken advantage of your acknowledged dignity, on which you can at any time retire with so much grace, in giving to the public such a document, and at the same time, intimating your withdrawal from the contest which you certainly commenced.

Your communication breathes a Christian spirit. You speak of discussions widening the “breach among *Christians*.” That you “mean to attack no denomination of *Christians*, much less those in this city.” Now, sir, I beseech you as a man of honor, and as one who must surely despise double dealing and Jesuitical trickery, to tell this community what, and whom you mean by “denomination of Christians in this city.” Do you wish to be understood as meaning that those who believe not the teachings of your church but oppose them are nevertheless Christians—followers of Christ? Dare you, as a Bishop of the Catholic Church, declare above your official signature, that the Protestant denominations of this city are Christians? or as such, they have the least possible ground of hope of sal-

vation? You know you dare not do it. The advocacy of such a doctrine would cause the crozier to fall from your hand and the miter from your head. The decrees of the council of Trent you have sworn to believe and obey, and their harmless though repeated curses rest upon the body, soul and spirit of every Protestant in this city whom they denounce as heretics deserving death. No, Sir, you do not believe they are "Christians," and why did you not speak out what you believe and have sworn to maintain? You speak of promoting charity; of "closing the breach among Christians;" of "charitably agreeing to disagree with those who conscientiously differ." Now, what can you mean by all this? Do you suppose an intelligent community can be made to believe that these are your real sentiments or the sentiments of your church?

"Religious liberty" (I quote from the chief organ of the Catholic Church in England, *The Rambler*,) "in the sense of a liberty possessed by every man to choose his own religion, is one of the most wicked delusions ever foisted upon this age by the father of all deceit. The very name of liberty, except in the sense of a permission to do certain, definite acts, ought to be banished from the domain of religion. Shall I hold out to my erring Protestant brother, that *I will not meddle with his creed if he will not meddle with mine?* Shall I tempt him to forget that he has no more right to his religious views than he has to my purse, my house, or my life blood?" Here is Romanism unmasked. I can give you extracts enough to fill a volume of the same character.

You know it to be the avowed, sworn policy of your church, never to let a "Protestant forget that he has no right to his religious views." And yet, you whisper soothing words of peace and charity, and, in effect say, in opposition to all the teachings of that church by which you have sworn to be governed, "I will not meddle with your creed if you will not meddle with mine." And what object can you have in all this? Think you that Americans can thus be blinded to the spirit and ultimate designs of your church—its opposition to liberty ever and everywhere?

But, sir, as you hold, and you will not deny it, that none opposed to you, are the Christians of this city, then there may be some force in your remark—that you "mean to attack no denomination of Christians in this city." Otherwise your statement must have startled all who heard your lectures, especially the one on Sectarianism. The allusion to "strong lungs and a small amount of brains," as the capital requisite for an attack on Romanism—that when a minister had no time to prepare a sermon, he could at any time pour out a tirade against popery—these and other remarks were not directed against Christian ministers or denominations! Of course not, for Rome has never acknowledged any man a minister of Christ, or a Christian, who opposed her dogmas or lived out of her communion. Your statement, therefore, is true; but oh! such a Romish way of telling it!

But, Rev. sir, you say, "I am opposed to the discussion of religious subjects through the secular

press." Sir, I do not doubt it. That mighty engine of civilization and safeguard of human rights, at whose utterances monarchs have paled, and dynasties crumbled, and priests and popes have trembled and fled; that is a power which your church fears, hates, would destroy; but which will one day write her and her pretensions down, as among the buried past. "A free press" says the Pope, in his Encyclical letter of 1832, "*is never to be sufficiently execrated*", and unbounded liberty of opinion is that pest above all others, most to be dreaded in a State." This is the language of the Pope, speaking officially from his throne; speaking to the church everywhere; speaking authoritatively to Bishop Spalding, who has sworn to obey him. The liberty of the press is "never to be sufficiently execrated," and therefore the Bishop is opposed to the discussion of religious subjects through the secular press. Yes, sir, and were you the Bishop of an Italian city, your opposition to discussion through the press with the power you would there have to enforce it, would crush, incarcerate, and ruin the man who dared question one dogma of your church.

But whence your opposition? Your fear is, that "discussions bring what is too sacred to be lightly or irreverently hauled down to the level of human discussions on merely human affairs, and lower the dignity of religion." Haul down what, sir? Truth? Lower the dignity of truth? No, sir, its dignity is real. Its strength is inherent. It shrinks from no test, fears no defeat, dreads no scrutiny, but crushed to earth will, by its own sublime energy, rise again.

Is it this which you fear will be "hailed down to the level of human discussions." It is not its dignity that would be "lightly or irreverently hailed down." There is another kind of dignity with which you are fully acquainted. It consists in gorgeous robes and spangled vestments and titles and miters, and lordly pretensions—the dignity which assumes to govern men's consciences, and stand between them and their maker—this fictitious dignity would be "hailed down to the level of human discussion," and you know, sir, that it is "hailed down" with a great deal of ease.

But, sir, what you have written about religious discussion has nothing to do with the questions proposed in my communication. I intimated no desire to discuss any subject purely religious. "The power of the Pope," the subject of your last lecture; the claims set up for Maryland and the anti-republican character of Romanism—these are the questions involved, and to which my communication had reference. And do you fear that the claims of the Pope to temporal power, his opposition to freedom and republicanism, should be "hailed down to the level of human discussion on merely human affairs?" What, sir, can you mean by this? Is the power of the Pope a subject so transcendent, so divine, that it must not be questioned, and are you opposed to what would "haul it down to the level of merely human affairs?" What, sir, is it, but a human affair, and a miserably weak one at that? What sustains it, but a brutal foreign soldiery, sent to support its tottering weight over the crushed spirits and

ruined hopes of a once proud and free people? Ah, sir, let the treacherous hand of perjured Napoleon be withdrawn, and you would soon see the dignity and power of your church in Rome "hailed down," below the "level of human affairs," and numbered among the stupendous monuments of human folly and ambition which have crumbled back to their native dust.

But, sir, your lectures have been public. They have been heard by those whom no Protestant can reach. We have a free press, the glory of our country, through which I can be heard as well as you. Your lectures and statements shall be questioned; and the claims of our church to political supremacy exposed.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. FORD.

LETTER II.

RIGHT REV. M. J. SPALDING :

Sir—In your communication of Thursday, in the Morning Courier, your objections to the investigation of the subject sproposed to you, were levelled at the “discussion of religious subjects through the press.” You thus plainly intimate your willingness to discuss a secular theme; and while I cannot see the force of your objections to the former, I hold you to that, the propriety of which, by implication, you admit—the discussion of a subject entirely secular. But, sir, I can conceive of no possible objection to the secular press as a fair and suitable arena to test the strength of your arguments and the truth of the sentiments put forth in your cathedral lectures. They are subjects which concern man’s highest interests—his present safety—his eternal destiny—and should be pressed upon public attention in all appropriate ways. Christianity was not born in a cathedral, nor was its first utterances from a pulpit. Its founder proclaimed its sublime doctrines in the fields, from the hill-tops, in the streets and byways; nor did the apostles ever once think of compromising their “dignity” by being instant in season and out of season, nor did they ever shrink from the investigation of what they proclaimed, lest (in your striking language) “discussion would haul it down to the level of human affairs.” And where,

sir, can be found a fairer, a more impartial field, than what you have termed the secular press? In that *plebius cita* every variety of mind, every shade of religious opinion is represented, and, as a jury cannot be packed, an honest verdict may be gained. And can this be the reason why you dread the ordeal—why you withdraw from the trial, lest things *too sacred* to stand such a test, should be “hailed to the level of human discussion on merely human affairs?” What is Christianity itself but the gift of Heaven to fallen humanity, and, in this sense, the highest of human affairs? And may it not, should it not, be discussed wherever there are human spirits to be quickened, ennobled and saved?

But, reverend sir, as there was an implied willingness, a half expressed promise, to discuss a subject which would not “haul down or handle the dignity of things *too sacred* to the level of human discussions on merely human affairs,” I am warranted in demanding your attention to a subject which it is to be hoped you will not consider too sacred to be “hailed down to the level” of an historic examination. You proclaimed, sir, in your cathedral, before your vast audience, as an unchallenged fact, that a Catholic proprietary of an American colony was the first to preach and practice religious toleration. This palm of priority you assign to Lord Baltimore, the founder of the colony of Maryland. This, you know you asserted, and from my soul I wish you could prove it. Yes, sir, I would rejoice to believe that in the vast and gloomy wilderness of persecution, intolerance and unrelenting bigotry of

fifteen hundred years duration, there was one oasis on which the eye might feast, one golden ray to cheer its gloom, one monumental spot to which the mind might point and say, there at least Romanism, from its own promptings, permitted all men to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Believe me, reverend sir, that your ability to prove the existence of such a fact could not impart to you more gratification than it would to me.

But historic records make a sad havoc of this claim which you trumpet forth with such seeming triumph. This, sir, is a pet matter with you and other American Catholic Bishops. Archbishop Hughes, of New York; has harped almost ceaselessly upon this single string, until the familiarity of the tune has made it almost "too sacred to be hauled to the level of human discussion." But its utter fallacy, before I am done, even you, I think, will acknowledge.

The Catholic colony of Maryland never proclaimed religious freedom. *Never*, sir, nor any other Catholic colony or country since the popedom was established. But you stated in your lecture that Maryland had granted *toleration*. And what was this? Does not the very term you use grate upon every republican ear? To an American the very term "toleration" in religion is, or ought to be, an insult. It implies, according to Webster, "a right in a sovereign to control men in their opinions and worships, or it implies the actual exercise in such control. Where no power exists or none is assumed to establish a creed and a mode of worship,

there can be no *toleration*, in the strict sense of the word ; for one denomination has as good a right as another to the free enjoyment of its creed and worship." Toleration belongs not to the vocabulary of freemen. It is the permission of a tyrant mortal to his fellow-man, to discharge his duty to his conscience and his God. This, Americans acknowledge it no man's power to grant. It is something they leave to tyrants and slaves.

Well, sir, and has Romanism ever granted even this? Freedom of opinion, which the voice of nature proclaims, and the Book of God guaranties, Popery claims not to have favored or granted. How near has she approached it? You point us to Maryland and its act of *toleration*. Well, let us enter the field of history and see the foundation of this claim.

Remember, sir, that when you claimed infinite credit for Lord Baltimore, you kept back from your hearers the fact that there were other parties to this *act of toleration* besides Lord Baltimore and Roman Catholics. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore himself, was educated a Protestant. After graduating at Oxford, he became a favorite with Sir Robert Cecil and received a subordinate appointment under him, and of course took the oath as to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England. He was, after several years service, knighted ; was clerk of the privy council, and finally became Secretary of State. He was, during all this time, a Protestant ; and if, after his conversion to Romanism, he became more tolerant than his co-religionists, will

not his education account for the fact? and may not Protestantism, after all, deserve the credit of his liberality?

But, sir, be this as it may, whatever toleration was granted in Maryland, did not originate with Catholics nor Catholic principles. Opposition to Popery in England was at that period at its highest. In 1625, King Charles attempted to make English troops aid Catholic France in putting down the Huguenots, but they refused to obey. The Puritan element in England was spreading with threatening rapidity. In 1629, (and, sir, I am approaching the date of your boasted charter) Parliament, with a large Puritan element in it, passed what were called "heads of articles," and which were leveled at Laud, the champion of prelacy. At the same time Gustavus Adolphus was sweeping Germany with his victorious troops, in favor of the Protestant cause.

Now, in 1632 the Catholics were under the ban in England. Puritans and Prelatists were engaged in that conflict which brought Charles to the block in 1642. And looking these historic facts in the face, can you appear before this community and assert that Charles I. granted Lord Baltimore a charter for a Catholic colony? At what period of his reign would he have dared to give such a charter?

But, reverend sir, let us look at the charter itself. It contains within itself an element which flings a flood of light on Lord Baltimore's "toleration." The charter granted to Lord Baltimore was the first one that recognized the political rights of the colonists.

The proprietary had "free, full and absolute power to make laws," but not *without the "advice, consent and approbation of the freemen of the province," or "their representatives, convoked in general assembly."* To this provision, sir, you did not refer in your lecture; Catholics never do when they claim that "Lord Baltimore granted toleration." But the charter shows him destitute of any power to enact laws without the advice, consent and approbation of the freemen of the province. Here then you see, sir, how historical investigation has "hailed down" or *handled* your claim as to Lord Baltimore's "toleration."

But, let us understand this fit of toleration which you lauded so highly. While Charles and his Parliament were at war and the contest was undecided, there was no Maryland statute on the subject of "toleration." As soon, however, as the Parliament triumphed, and became the head of the State, when Puritanism ruled England, and made the persecutors of Protestants on the Continent pause and tremble—when Lord Baltimore himself solicitous to see his lands settled by Puritans, and had sent agents for that purpose—when the many Protestant freemen in Maryland had the power of England to back them, a power which Lord Baltimore dare not defy; then, and not till then, the Romanists of Maryland, cowed by the prestige of Protestant triumph everywhere, and after living seventeen years without granting any "toleration," at length gave to the world the boasted act to which you so frequently refer. Yes, sir, Romanism, (and what cap-

ital is made of this fact?) when trembling before triumphant Puritanism, when her stern features were for once relaxed, in her most tender mercy and in her most smiling mood, gave one solitary instance of toleration. And this you claim as at least one gem to relieve the settled gloom that invests her dark history. Well, sir, look at the boasted statute; look at it in a light in which Protestant writers have not fully regarded it. Look at this gift-horse of Catholic Maryland in the mouth, and say, are not your American, your Kentucky instincts shocked at the sight of this immortal Catholic act? Here, sir, it is, or some of its clauses, and what is its spirit? Does it not breathe persecution, imprisonment, banishment and death? Forfeiture of lands and goods, and even death are pronounced against all "who shall blaspheme God, that is, curse Him, or who shall deny our Saviour, Jesus Christ, to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead, of any of the said three persons of the Trinity." And this death penalty was in force in Maryland for these things down to 1849, and may be in force even yet. And this is one specimen of Catholic "toleration." Let us look, sir, at another evidence of its merciful "toleration," in regard to the interesting subject of Maryology. The act says: (2) "Using profane words or speeches concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of our Saviour, or the Holy Apostles or Evangelists, or any of them, for the first offense shall forfeit five pounds sterling to the lord proprietary, or in de-

fault of payment shall be publicly whipped and imprisoned, at the pleasure of his lordship or his lieutenant general. For his second offense he shall forfeit ten pounds sterling, and be publicly and severely whipped and imprisoned, as before directed. And for the third offense they shall forfeit lands and goods, and be forever banished out of the Province.”*

Here is the character of that “toleration act of 1649,” of which you so triumphantly boasted, which Bishop Hughes and yourself fling in the face of all who speak of the persecuting spirit that has animated your church, from the time it first grasped secular power down to the present moment. And is this all we can hope for? Is this the only bright spot in its past career of unrelenting oppression? Is this the only instance of tolerance to which you can point? the farthest step in freedom’s march your church has ever taken? Yes, reverend sir, it is; and to what does it amount? What, but the half suppressed whispers of “tolerance,” silenced by the denunciations of banishment and death, and even these whispers awakened by the fear of English Puritanism, and not the love of liberty. Ah, sir, tell us, is not this very “act of toleration,” instead of being that of which an American should be proud, is it not a dark blot on our country’s history and the cause of freedom? Was not its spirit the same as that which at the same period was shrouding portions of Italy in death, and of which, in the sub-

* See Laws of Maryland at Large, by T. Bacon, A. D. 1765. The Act is 16 or 17, Cecilius Lord Baltimore.

limest sonnet the English language knows, the lofty muse of Milton sung?

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold—
E’en them who kept thy truth so pure of old
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones.
Forget not, in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that rolled
Mothers and infants down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr’d blood and ashes sow
O’er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The trippled tyrant, that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who, having learned thy way
Early, may fly the Babylonish way.”

Toleration! Imprisonment, fine, confiscation and banishment—and for what? Why, sir, for calling in question the fluctuating and nonsensical dogmas of Rome, about the Virgin Mary! Why, if a man had announced in Maryland in 1649, that last bright idea of Romish infallibility—the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin—as it was announced at Rome the other day, amid the roar of a hundred cannons from St. Angelo, by the Pope, he would have been fined, imprisoned, his goods confiscated, and he severely whipped. And this, sir, you would call “toleration,” and boast of it as the glory of your church! That such is the fact, every well informed Romanist must know.

The invention, or dream of fiction, now put forth as necessary to be believed under penalty of damnation, was *first* promulged, as a scholastic specula-

tion by John Duns Scotus, in the beginning of the *fourteenth* century. Until that time it had never been heard of. He alleges it as *possible*, and essays his dialectic skill in overthrowing the arguments with which men of such eminence in the schools as Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, (canonized objects of devout veneration in the Roman Church,) had maintained the contrary.

It is absolutely contradicted, in propositions more or less direct express, but all clear and irrefutably pertinent, by the following *Bishops of Rome*, to pass by the interminable string of references to other theological writers of the first fourteen centuries, that might be produced :

1. About A. D. 440, Leo I, called the Great. Sermo 1 in Nativ. Dom. c. 1. (I. 64 ed. Ball. I, 191 A. ed. Migne.) Sermo 2 in Nat. Dom. c. 2. (I. 69. I. 195 B.) Ibid c. 2. (I. 69 I 195 c.) Ibid c. 3. (I. 70. I. 196 c.) Sermo 4 in Nat. Dom. c. 3. (I. 80. I. 205 c.) Ibid c. 3. (I. 80 I. 206 A.) Sermo 5 in Nat. Dom. c. 4. (I. 85 I. 211 A. Ibid c. 5. (I. 86 I. 211 c.)

2. About A. D. 485, Gelasius I, Epist. VII. (al. 5.) ad. Piceni Episcopos. (I. 36, A. ed. Migne.) Lib. Pelaginum Hæresim. (I. 117, D. 118 A.)

3. About A. D. 500, Gregory I, called the Great Moral, in Job. Lib. XI, c. 52, (p. 392 ad. Ben. I. 986, B. ad. Migne.) Ibid, Lib. XVIII, c. 52, [p. 598. II. 89, B.]

4. About A. D. 1200, Innocent III., Serm. I. de Purif. Virg. Serm. 11, de S. Jo. Bapt. Serm. de Assumptione.

5. About A. D. 1276, Innocent V., in 3 Sentent. Dist. 8.

6. About A. D. 1320, John XXII., Serm. 1, de Assumptione.

7. About A. D. 1345, Clement VI., Serm. Dominicæ 1 Adventus.

The string of papal authorities brings the contradiction of the doctrine now developed by the Holy See itself down to the date of its first promulgation, and beyond.

8. About the year 1500, Vincent Blandell, General of the order of Dominicans, published a treatise against the new development, in which *three hundred* theologians of note were alleged as witnesses against it. To crown their testimony, Catharine, of Sienna, *a saint* of the Roman calendar, is adduced, declaring that "it was *divinely revealed* to her that the Blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin, but afterwards cleansed therefrom;" of this revelation, St. Antonius, Archbishop of Florence, who died in 1459, (another canonized object of Roman "cultus,") is the voucher, in his *Summa Porte la de Penato Originali*.

You, sir, and every convert to your faith, have to *vow, promise and swear, never to interpret the Scriptures otherwise than in conformity with the unanimous consent of the fathers*; and not one of these fathers has said a word in behalf of this new bauble which Pope Pius has stuck in his cap. And yet, sir, your boasted Maryland toleration act, if now in force in this city, would imprison or banish

two-thirds of our citizens, who would dare deny this new dogma of Rome?

Ah, sir, you knew what you were about when you objected to "discussion through the secular press." This community is to-day a judge how the press "hauls down," or, as you have had it corrected, "*handles* to the level of human affairs" the "dignity" which your glittering robes and mitred head, and official standing, gave to your statements in the cathedral. But, sir, I am not half done with your asserted precedence of Catholic toleration in America. I have shown to-day the hollowness of your claims. In my next I shall produce the unanimous authorities of American historians as to the *first* origin of religious freedom in America. Look well, sir, to your historic laurels, for, mark it, they shall speedily wither.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. FORD.

LETTER III.

RIGHT REV. M. J. SPALDING :

Sir—In your communication in the Louisville Courier of the 7th inst., you say: “My lectures are intended to vindicate the doctrines and character of the Catholic Church.” Such a vindication was certainly needed. Her character, as the stern, uncompromising foe to soul-liberty, wherever her power is supreme, stands revealed before the world. To vindicate her character, and present her before your hearers as the friend to that which her power for ages has been exerted to destroy, required considerable nerve, even in a Catholic bishop. But history is often made to bend most pliantly in the hands of an ingenious disputant, who expects not to be answered, but is opposed to discussion, lest things too sacred may be “irreverently handled.” And yet, sir, through all the range of history, on whose pages for centuries are traced the triumphs and influence of your Church, to but one spot can you point where she has smiled upon freedom, or aided in unfurling its banner—and that spot is not Italy where she has her seat, nor Spain, where she reigns supreme—but in republican, Protestant America! Yes, while in Rome, the first whispers of freedom are silenced by the thunders of the Vatican—America is the proud example brought to prove that Rome is freedom’s friend. But, sir,

in my last letter, this solitary example, the Catholic colony of Maryland, was shown to be a claim without a title—a beautiful castle in the air. History, with its stern truths, incontestibly proves that a *Catholic* colony of Maryland, constituted as such, never existed. Not only was such a thing entirely unknown, but, *ex necessitate*, was an absolute impossibility. A charter for a Catholic colony, in England, was never granted to Lord Baltimore, or any one else. Charles I. dared not grant such a charter, had he been so disposed, and his indisposition to grant one, every one the least acquainted with his character must know. When the Irish, in 1641, during the rebellion, proposed to lay down their arms on condition that their religion be tolerated, on the 8th December, 1641, “the Lords and Commons declared, by resolution, that they never would give consent to the toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any other of his Majesty’s dominions,” and the same day Charles issued a proclamation, “commanding obedience to the laws established concerning religion, and prohibiting the introduction of any rite or ceremony other than those established by the laws and statutes.” Such were the laws and state of public opinion when the charter to Lord Baltimore was granted, and it was expressly provided that the colonial affairs of Maryland should be in strict consonance with the laws of the realm. These limitations Lord Baltimore transcended. At first obtaining toleration, not *by*, but for his Catholic brethren, he afterwards elevated Catholics to power,

which was a violation of the provisions of his charter. He finally introduced Maryology, with its inflictions of fines and punishments on those who spoke against the Virgin Mary. But as soon as the Parliament of England gained power, knowing he had overstepped his charter, he at once *removed the Catholics he had appointed to office, and appointed Presbyterians in their place*. Yes, sir, and not only did the persecuting statute ever after remain a dead letter, but Lord Baltimore even went so far to the other extreme as to refuse to tolerate Catholics, lest he might offend the Protestant Parliament. And ought not this to be heralded forth as another brilliant evidence of Catholic toleration?

Such, sir, are the historic outlines of this so-called *Catholic* colony, and such its boasted toleration. Never, reverend sir, I implore you in the name of learning and of truth, never look an intelligent community in the face and state that *Protestant* England, empowered, by crown-grant, the *Catholic* colony of Maryland to "tolerate" the *Protestant* religion. Does not the very statement carry absurdity on its face? Charles I. had no authority to grant such a power, and no disposition to grant it, even if the stern veto of the laws had not interposed.

I now, sir, am done with Maryland and its claims. Whatever freedom it enjoyed was not the offspring of Rome. You stated in your last Sabbath night's lecture that the "weeds rooted up from the Pope's garden became the finest flowers in the

garden of Protestantism." You may not in this have referred to the tree of freedom, under whose shadow we rest. But certain it is, that his holiness has ever considered it a weed; or, in his own emphatic language, "that pest of all others the most to be dreaded in a state." In his garden this weed, this "pest," has never been planted, has never been permitted to grow, but has ever, if discovered, been rooted up and destroyed. Though the lily might bloom amid Alpine snows, or the rose be gathered from the volcano's burning lips, yet never can freedom be found in the "garden of the Pope," nor flourish beneath his withering influence. As Americans, proud of that name and the soul-freedom of which it is the watchword, we hail the spread of freedom, wherever it is found, and honor its champions, whatever be their names; but, sir, to Catholic countries and colonies do we look in vain for its diffusion—among the powers of your Church its champions never have been found. Where your influence was unfelt, must we look for the place of its nativity, and to those who defied your anathemas, as the apostles who heralded its birth.

Turn we, then, sir, from the term "toleration"—a word alien to all Christian truth and the cherished feelings of true Americans—a word which, like Maryland's statute about the Virgin Mary, though the only glory spot on the garments of the "mother Church"—has been blotted from the birthright of American freemen, and has been left to hold its place in the utterances of tyrants and the vocabulary

of slaves. Yes, reverend sir, the "preaching and practice of toleration," whose primal glory you claim for the Roman Church, is that which Americans reject, ignore, and from which they gladly turn to that noble, glorious Saxon word, FREEDOM—"perfect liberty of conscience in the worship of God." This glorious principle, which mantles this broad land, which is as dear to every American heart as life itself, was born, not in the princely palace of an English peer, on English soil—it originated not with the mighty magnate of a vast domain, granted by his tyrant king—it sprung not from the shrewd policy of the lord proprietary, to swell his fortunes and increase his power. No, sir; it was born on American soil, amid storm and peril; it sprung from deep-felt principle, and in bitterness and woe its banished apostle planted its standard, heralded its principles, and foretold its final triumph from amid the howling wilds of Narragansett Bay. That man, the author of "soul-liberty," which thirty millions of people now feel, as the anchor of their hope, and the glory of their country, was ROGER WILLIAMS—a name which shall live in grateful and permanent recollection; shall stand forth as a monument of virtue in her sublimest form, when the achievements of heroes are forgotten, and the tyrant shall not breathe who would, in the language of the Pope, execrate liberty of opinion as that "pest, of all others most to be dreaded in a state."

Every lover of freedom, every American heart, every one imbued with the spirit of Jesus Christ,

as he follows the turbid stream of history, and marks the progress of mankind, and searches for that vital principle which first enlarged the soul of humanity on this glorious continent, will have his footsteps arrested, and will pause with delight as he watches the developments of principle in the colony of Massachusetts, in February, 1631.

An humble pilgrim, noble in his appearance, yet retiring in his conversation and behavior, in the midst of a darkness deep and universal, was ordained by Providence to flash upon the world a light whose splendor now covers our country, and whose beams have even in Italy awakened kindlings of that freedom which shall one day cover the earth.

Roger Williams was the first to proclaim freedom of conscience since the days of the apostles; and all authorities agree that this doctrine is the true revolutionary principle which has wrought out such a destiny for America—the foundation on which rests securely the towers of her strength. I shall not, sir, attempt to paint the character of Roger Williams; and yet I cannot but desire that you and your people should remember that there was such a man, and that his principles, so antagonistic to your Church, are those cherished by the American people. I shall, therefore, let Mr. Bancroft, to whose history in your lecture you appealed, portray the character of this apostle of liberty.

Upon the arrival of Roger Williams in the colony, in 1631, Bancroft says: "He was but little more than thirty years of age; but his mind had already matured a doctrine which secures him immortality

of fame, as its application has given religious peace to the American world." A fugitive from English persecution, his wrongs had not clouded his understanding or embittered his soul. He had resolved in the capacious recesses of his mind the nature of intolerance, and he alone arrived at the great principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced the simple proposition, the reverse of which the Pope so recently published to the world as the foundation principle of your Church. It was the sanctity of conscience—the doctrine in all its plenitude of "unbridled liberty of opinion" on all religious matters—with which the state has no right to interfere. This, which the Pope calls in his Encyclical Letter, "unbridled liberty of opinion," "that pest of all others most to be dreaded in a state"—this doctrine contained within itself the entire reformation of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. Its opposite is the foundation principle on which stands every state church; and whence the arrogant claim to "tolerate," or permit men to worship God, is derived. From the doctrine of Williams, first heard on American soil, comes the freedom in which we glory. On that uttered from Rome rests the gloomy fabric of despotism and superstition, under which the fairest portions of Europe groan.

The former principle, from my soul, I endorse, every free man must cherish—the latter you have accepted as the dicta of him you have sworn to obey. Examine, sir, the doctrine advocated by Williams and adopted by Americans—look at its inference and logical and practical results, and can

you or can your Church accept it? Does it not contain an element which, if once admitted, would blow into ten thousand fragments the whole superstructure of Romanism? It would blot from the statute book the "felony" of non-conformity—it would quench the fires of persecution, and rid every land of the dreaded inquisition. It would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; it would abolish tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; it would leave every form and faith to stand or fall according to its own energy and truth.

It would, in fine, turn Rome itself into a republic, where truth and error should rise or fall by their own inherent power or weakness. And lifting from the mind of her enslaved millions, the mountain weight of an intolerant priesthood, would permit the soul to stand forth before God, and in the exercise of its noble powers, gather up truth and light from every source. It would finally dispel the clouds which have for ages hung in gloomy vengeance over that sunny clime, and clothe it again in the vestments of light and gladness and freedom. Nor is the day distant when the principles of soul-liberty proclaimed on these shores by Roger Williams shall triumph even in Rome, and a free Bible, a free pulpit, and a free press, shall testify her emancipation from civil and religious vassalage.

This, sir, is the freedom which the gospel teaches, which Williams preached, which the Pope has denounced, but which Americans have adopted and

love; and which, by the help of God, we will defend as well against the sophistries of a lecturer, the wiles of a secret order, as against the anathemas of a foreign priest or the armies of a foreign prince.

Two years before the charter for Maryland was granted to Lord Baltimore, Williams preached this doctrine, and, deducing every legitimate inference from it, he accepted it, and then remained in the unwavering assertion of his views, from the time he first trod the shores of New England, until, in extreme old age, the last pulsations of his heart displayed the same tones of freedom.

Williams would hold no compromise with toleration. The "doctrine of persecution for conscience sake is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ." Such were his noble words. Were such ever uttered by a Pope of Rome? Never. Are they such as you would endorse? "To *compel* men to unite with those of a different faith," he recognized as "a violation of their natural rights," "to drag to public worship the irreligious and the unwilling, seemed only like legalizing and recognizing hypocrisy. To force the indifferent, whose soul was 'dead in sin,' from one form of worship to another, was like shifting a dead man into several changes of garments." "What," said his antagonists, "is not the laborer worthy of his hire?" "Yes," he replied, "from those that hire him." Would Rome or her Pope Prince this day say the same? Does he not consider this the "greatest pest with which a state can be cursed?" How different, sir, the language of your Catholic organs

in this country and in Europe. "Religious liberty, in the sense of a liberty, possessed by every man to choose his own religion, is one of the most wicked delusions ever foisted upon this age by the father of deceit." Williams, with his great heart alive to the eternity of truth, saw the influence of his principles on society, and hailed their effects as Rome dreads them. He said, and a continent of thirty millions of people has established its verity, "The removal of the yoke of soul-oppression, as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience to preserve the common liberty and peace."

Even at the risk of making this letter too long, I must be permitted to give Bancroft's portraiture of this apostle of soul freedom:—

"At the time when Germany was the battle-field for all Europe, in the implacable wars of religion, when even Holland was bleeding with the anger of vengeful factions, when France was still to go through the struggle with bigotry, when England was gasping under the despotism of intolerance, more than forty years before William Penn (who was the son of a Baptist minister,) became an American proprietary, 'Roger Williams asserted the great doctrine of liberty.' He was the FIRST PERSON in modern Christendom to assert, in its plenitude, the doctrine of liberty of conscience, and in its defense he was the harbinger of Milton and Jeremy Taylor.

"It became his glory to found a State on that principle, and to stamp himself upon its rising institutions in characters so deep that the impress has remained to the present day, and can never be

erased without the total destruction of the whole work. The principle which he first sustained, amid the bickerings of a colonial parish, next asserted in the general court of Massachusetts, and then introduced into Narragansett Bay, he soon found occasion to publish to the world. We praise the man who first analyzed the air, and resolved water into its elements, or drew the lightning from the clouds. If Copernicus is held in perpetual reverence, because on his death-bed he published to the world that the sun is the centre of the system; if the name of Kepler is preserved in the annals of human excellence, for his sagacity in detecting the laws of planetary motion; if Newton has been almost adored for dissecting a ray of light, and weighing the heavenly bodies as in a balance; let there be for the name of Roger Williams at least some humble place amongst those who have advanced moral science, and made themselves the benefactors of mankind."

But, reverend sir, I can dwell no longer on the character of this apostle of American freedom. There he stands, like freedom itself, amid suffering and want, persecuted and banished, yet benevolent and sublime. He founded the colony of Rhode Island, "as a shelter for those distressed of conscience." There, sir, is a monument to which we can point—one erected long before Lord Baltimore's act of toleration was passed, and which, from the surrounding darkness which reigned everywhere else, shot up like a "light on eternity's ocean." With abundant opportunities for exercising power, he never laid an ungentle hand on human being. With full power to obtain wealth, he died poor. Where, sir, where, amid the canonized myriads

whose virtues your Church honors, and whose deeds she records, can you point to such an example, to any such monument of a lover of human freedom? In Rome, sir, you know well. his life would have paid the penalty of advocating such principles, or, as your Church calls them, crimes. His ashes would have been gathered from the stake and flung into the Tiber, as were those of Arnold, of Brescia, had he advocated that soul freedom where the Pope had full sway. This, sir, you know, as does every intelligent man; and you know, also, this freedom which he preached, and in which we glory, which the Pope termed that "pest, the most to be dreaded of all others in a state," you, sir, have sworn to "root out and destroy." And will you again tell us that your Church and her principles are not opposed to freedom?—that the *Catholic* colony of Maryland first granted "toleration?"—and that freedom had not its birth-place here, but sprung from Rome, or Romanism? No, sir, you will not. While Rhode Island and the town of Providence endure—while Roger Williams's name shall be remembered—while his principles are cherished by the sons of this glorious soil—while America shall last in all the growing strength of her blood-bought institutions, and the names of her patriots remain—

"Oh! call it holy ground,

The soil where first they trod;

They left unstained what there they found—

FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD."

But, reverend sir, I am not yet done with your lectures or your communications. You must permit

me, in my next, to call your attention to Rome and its ruler, and examine what allegiance it and he claim from you and others, who are, at the same time, citizens of these United States.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. FORD.

LETTER IV.

RIGHT REV. M. J. SPALDING:

Sir—In your letter which appeared in the *Courier* of the 5th inst., in which you were pleased to notice my communication, you say, “I am opposed to the discussion of religious subjects through the secular press, and still more so to the harangue on the subject of religion before promiscuous crowds.” Such discussions, you tell us, “excite passion and awaken prejudice, rather than promote charity and bring men to that calm state of mind which is so necessary a condition for arriving at truth.” In this statement there is a depth of meaning which no phraseology, however artfully chosen, could entirely conceal. You are not opposed to the advocacy of Romanism, or the denunciation of Protestantism through the press, for both yourself and your fellow bishops have used the press a thousand times for these purposes. Nor are you opposed to “haranguing on the subject of religion by a Catholic bishop before promiscuous crowds.” No, sir, it is to any discussion which would awaken inquiry and show the baseless claims of Romanism, to which you are so strongly opposed. You desire, in your own significant language, to “bring men to that *calm* state of mind which is so necessary a condition for arriving at” the dogmas of your church. That which no clashing of thought with thought

must agitate, no question startle from its silent repose, no breath of human discussion awaken or disturb—this dead, stagnant prostration of all that stamps divinity on the immortal mind, you desire “as that calm state of mind which is so necessary a condition for arriving at” or receiving the doctrines of your church.

From your language I must conclude that you are opposed to free discussion at any time or in any form; such must be your meaning, and such your principles, for I cannot suspect you of perjury the most shameless. And yet, sir, any other construction of your language, any approbation of freedom of thought, any profession of an ardent love of soul-liberty, from you, while holding your present position, must approximate that crime—would, in the sight of God and man, amount to perjury. For you have solemnly promised and sworn to believe and sustain the decrees of the Council of Trent, whose words are these: “IF ANY ONE SHALL PRESUME TO THINK OR TEACH DIFFERENTLY FROM THESE DECREES, LET HIM BE ACCURSED;” “If any one disobey, let him be denounced by ordinaries, and PERISH, ACCORDING TO LAW.” Here is Rome’s veto on thought itself. Here is her stern, unchangable and infallible law, which, by crushing out from the soul the first kindlings of freedom, is to reduce “men to that calm temper of mind which is so necessary a condition” for receiving her teachings. This law you have sworn to obey and enforce. Doubt it or disbelieve it you dare not, and still hold your present position. You are, therefore, in harmony with

that withering power which you call the "Church," opposed to freedom of thought. The fair and open discussion silenced in Italy, must be opposed here, lest "things too sacred to be handled should be brought down to the level of human discussion." *Too sacred to be handled!* And did not Christ himself, after his resurrection, invite unbelief to handle him, and by the strictest human investigation, by an examination of the senses, test his claim to a miraculous resurrection? Did he not invite Thomas to reach forth his finger and behold his hands, and say, "reach forth thy hand and thrust it into my side?" And did not the same John who penned these words say in his epistle, "That which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled—the word of life?"

Heaven considers nothing that can be brought within the sphere of human investigation as too sacred to be "handled or discussed." This was left for the antipode of Christianity to claim—for a jealous and fearful spiritual tyranny to assume. Does truth shun the light? Does honesty fear detection? On what, sir, must your church be intent? What designs, what purposes must be hers, when she shrouds them in a darkness which investigation must not pierce—which discussion must not handle? And think you that discussion will thus be silenced and inquiry stopped?—that dogmatism will pass for reason, and solemn pretensions for reality and truth? No, sir; I would stand up in the presence of heaven and earth, and "handle"

even the emblems which you worship and eat, and demonstrate by every law, human and divine, that they are bread and wine—and not flesh and blood, flour and water—and not the Eternal God. Aye, and I would do so, even were I an Italian subject of the Pope, and though the tyranny of His Holiness would imprison and crush me, as you cannot, for “handling things too sacred to be brought down to the level of human discussion.”

Does the intolerant, persecuting spirit of Rome need further confirmation? If it does, here it is, in abundance, selected from a mass sufficient to fill a volume. And say not, sir, this is Protestant calumny. I quote from the accredited organs of your Church, from that church itself, and from its *infallible head*.

Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI., dated August 15, 1832:

“From this polluted fountain of indifference flows that absurd and erroneous doctrine, or rather raving in favor and in defense of liberty of conscience, for which most pestilential error the course is opened, by that wild liberty of opinion which is everywhere attempting the overthrow of civil and religious institutions, and which the unblushing impudence of some has held forth as an advantage to religion. From hence arises these revolutions in the minds of men, hence this aggravated corruption of youth, hence this contempt, among the people, of sacred things, and of the most holy institutions and laws, hence, in one word, that pest of all others most to be dreaded in a State, unbridled liberty of opinion.”

This, sir, is from the head; how is it responded to by his subjects? Archbishop Hughes, in oppo-

sition to granting even an American citizen the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, when the Pope can back his opposition to discussion, thus answers Gen. Cass: The Protestant American "may, with various references to the number of the beast, descriptive of Antichrist, prove clearly that his doctrine is right; in the meantime it might happen that this supposed Antichrist, the Pope, would be looking down from some window in the Vatican, *unable to interfere*, lest his government should be understood as violating the rights of American conscience, as shadowed forth by Gen. Cass." Why the possibility of the Bishop of Rome looking down from some window in the Vatican on one who dared deny his lordly claims, and be unable to interfere, shocks the "Bishop of New York," as it doubtless does the "Bishop of Louisville." And, sir, what think you of your "inability to interfere" with my opposition here, as he would interfere with it there. Had you the power, as Bishop of Louisville, which he has as Bishop of Rome, and which your church claims for you both, what then, sir?—what then? Would not your power be my temporal ruin, as would the power of His Holiness, did I utter these sentiments in Rome? But I thank God, I breathe here a freedom which you as yet cannot taint; I stand on a soil as yet not reduced to Roman vassalage, and neither the Pope nor his minions can silence the free expression of my religious convictions. But, sir, hear your church's own witnesses testifying to her lovely character:

“For our own part, we take this opportunity of explaining our hearty delight at the suppression of the Protestant chapel at Rome. This may be thought intolerant, but when, we would ask, did we ever profess to be tolerant of Protestantism, or to favor the doctrine that Protestantism ought to be tolerated? On the contrary we hate Protestantism—we detest it with our whole heart and soul, and we pray that our aversion to it may never decrease. We hold it meet that in the Eternal City no worship repugnant to God should be tolerated, and we are glad the enemies of the truth are no longer allowed to meet together in the capital of the Christian world.”—*Pittsburgh Catholic*.

“No good government can exist without religion—and there can be no religion without an Inquisition, which is wisely designed for the promotion and protection of the true faith.”—*Boston Pilot*.

“You ask if he (the Pope) were lord in the land, and you were in a minority, if not in numbers yet in power, what would he do to you? That, we say, depends entirely on circumstances. If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism, he would tolerate you; if expedient, he would imprison you, banish you, fine you; possibly he might even hang you—but, be assured of one thing, he would never tolerate you for the sake of the ‘glorious principles of civil and religious liberty.’”—*Rambler, principal organ of the Catholic Church in England*.

“Protestantism of every form has not, and never can have any rights, where Catholicity is triumphant.”—*Brownson's Review*.

“I never think of publishing anything in regard to the Church, without submitting my articles to the Bishop for inspection, approval, and endorsement.”—*Ibid*.

“I declare my most unequivocal submission to

the Head of the Church, and to the hierarchy in its different orders. If the Bishops made a declaration on this bill, I never would be heard speaking against it, but would submit at once, unequivocally, to that decision. They have only to determine and I obey. I wish it to be understood that such is the duty of all Catholics.”—*Daniel O’Connell*, 1843.

“Heresy and unbelief are crimes, and in Christian countries, as in Italy and Spain, for instance, where all the people are Catholic, and where the Catholic religion is an essential part of the law of the land, they will be punished as other crimes.”—*Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Louis*.

“A heretic, examined and convicted by the church, used to be delivered over to the secular power and punished with death. Nothing has ever appeared to us more necessary. More than one hundred thousand people perished in consequence of the heresy of Wickliffe; a still greater number for that of John Huss: and it would not be possible to calculate the bloodshed caused by Luther, organ of the Archbishop of Paris, and it is not yet over.”—*Paris Univers*.

“As for myself, what I regret, I frankly own is, that they did not burn John Huss sooner, and that they did not likewise burn Luther; this happened because there was not found some prince sufficiently politic to stir up a crusade against the Protestants.”—*Ibid*.

“The absurd and erroneous doctrines, or ravings in defense of liberty of conscience, is a most pestilential error—a pest of all others most to be dreaded in a State.”—*Encyclical Letter of Pius IX.*, Aug. 15, 1845.

“Protestantism of every kind, Catholicity inserts in her catalogue of mortal sins. She endures it when and where she must, but she hates it, and

directs all her energies to its destruction.”—*Saint Louis Shepherd of the Valley*, 1852.

“As long as I live, the religious press of Paris shall be watched, and, if necessary, repressed by spiritual weapons of which I can dispose. It shall either remain within the line of duty, or leave this diocese and seek elsewhere a more complacent jurisdiction to preach contempt for the hierarchy, and make war on the authority which I hold from Divine Mercy and the grace of the Holy Apostolical See.”—*Archbishop of Paris*.

“The profession of the Popish religion is indispensable as a qualification for the exercise of civil and political rights.”—*Pope Pius*, March 14, 1848.

But, sir, I need add no more—there is Rome’s character proven by her friends, her admirers, her defenders. And what is their testimony, and what does it prove? Would you ask us, reverend sir, on the *ipse dixit* of a Catholic, however honorable he might be, to believe, in the face of this overwhelming proof, that your church is tolerant, that she is the friend of freedom? As well might you ask us to believe that night was day, that sweet was bitter, or that Malaga wine was the blood of Christ. And yet, sir, you have done it.—Though you have, yourself, sworn that “heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said Lord, the Pope, and his successors, I will, to the utmost of my power, persecute and attack.” Yet, sir, you actually stated in your lecture at the Cathedral, on the night of the 31st of December, that no society, or body of men, had a right to prescribe what a man shall believe. And in your communication, in response to mine, in the *Courier*, you say, “I mean to attack no denomina-

tion of Christians, much less those in this city ; we will charitably agree to disagree, as becomes those who claim to be disciples of a Master who inculcated charity as His chief commandment."

Now, sir, I again ask you what, by all this, are we to understand you to mean ? Have you broken your vows ? and do you repudiate the Roman Church and its infallible teachings ? or were you uttering words without meaning when you spoke and wrote this language ? Your position, your reputation for candor and learning, demand an explanation. Deny what I have quoted you cannot. Deny that I have given your language you will not. What opinion, then, can we form of a church whose real character you have tried to hide ; or what shall we think of your statements, which are in direct contradiction to his whom you have sworn to obey ?

But, sir, one other subject I must briefly notice. It is the claim of your Pontiff-Prince to supreme sovereignty over this and every other land. The celebrated Florentine Canon, of 1439, defined that "the government of the whole world was given to the Pope in Peter," and to deny this doctrine, is "to deny the authority and infallibility of the Roman Church." To deny it would be the same as becoming a Protestant. In this daring proclamation of power, we have an assumption obviously incompatible with the peace of any nation on earth, as it is incompatible with the liberties of mankind.

Before a Special Committee of the House of Commons, as given in its reports, a respectable Romanist thus answered: "Suppose that the Pope and his

council announced that the King of England was a person that should be deposed, would you feel in conscience bound, as a Roman Catholic, to obey?" "Certainly not, because it would be contrary to Scripture." He was asked whether he or his Church was to judge of Scripture. He replied, "my Church!" He was then asked if the decree was so ordered that the Pope and council affirmed that the heretical monarch, or government, should be deposed, how would you act? He replied, "I should feel myself bound by the decree, because it was for the Pope and council to judge of Scripture, and as a Roman Catholic, I should obey him."

Here, then, what conscience and Scripture dictate, regarding his duty as a citizen, is resolved into the decision of a council at Rome, and treason to his country at the bidding of a foreign tyrant, is transformed into a meritorious virtue, and this is the main essential element of Popery—the basis on which it must stand, or else crumble to atoms. In conformation of this arrogant claim, here is the solemn announcement of Pius VII., in his famous bull excommunicating Napoleon: "Let them, (the nations of the earth) once again understand, that by the law of Christ, their sovereignty is *subjected to our throne*, for we also exercise sovereignty. We add, also, a more noble sovereignty, unless it were just that the spirit should yield to the flesh, and the celestial to the terrestrial." Here is Romanism in the nineteenth century in Europe; now look at it in America.

"Let us," says Brownson, in his Review, pub-

lished, as asserted by him at the time, under the supervision of the Bishops, "let us assert the truth in the face of a lying world, and instead of pleading for our Church at the bar of the State, summon the State to plead at the bar of the Church, as its deservedly constituted judge." Hear him again, and let every lover of his country and its glorious institutions, hear the notes of warning from their deadliest foe, who designs their overthrow and ruin:

"I owe no duties to my country but such as are prescribed by the law of God; and the only authority the Pope has over me as a citizen, is his authority as a spiritual guardian and judge of the law as binding upon my conscience. He, at the very lowest, I think, is as likely to interpret and apply that law justly as is Franklin Pierce, or Chief Justice Taney, or as I should be in my own private judgment. My political sovereign has no right to demand my obedience to any order contrary to the law of God, and he has not been constituted my judge to interpret authoritatively that law for me or for any one else."

"My political sovereign has no right to demand my obedience to orders contrary to the law of God." The Pope is the judge of the law; therefore, whether a man shall sustain the constitution of his country, or trample it in the dust; whether honor its laws, or despise them; love his country and its institutions, and aim at their triumph and permanence; or whether he shall stain with insurrection and blood the escutcheon of that country, and endanger and destroy all that is ennobling and dear to it—this depends on the decision of an Italian

tyrant—the Pope of Rome. Where is the man, true to the liberties of his country, whose heart beats high with honest pride that he is an American citizen, who thanks his God and his hero forefathers, that no tyrant can rob him of his birthright?—where is the American who would cherish such opinions, or elevate to power him who can cherish the sentiments thus boldly announced, as the principles of your Church?

Prompted by no human being, and in the midst of constant and pressing engagements, I have penned this communication for your and the public's eye. Startled at your statements in the Cathedral—unwilling to doubt your knowledge of what you affirmed, I have boldly, yet respectfully, brought the stern voice of history to contradict your assertions. In this, I consider I have not been assuming. Considering myself a freeman, to whom belonged the right of free discussion, and to whom all the means of information were as open as they were to you, I have questioned your statements; have shown the intolerant spirit of your Church, and its opposition to the best interests of my country. But, sir, I wish not to interfere with *your* religion or *your* rights.

As a citizen, exercising my political rights, I would not oppose the religion, but the politics of your Church. While she stands apart from politics and pursues her mission, whatever it may be, without claiming a distinct voice, and without wishing to be known as a distinct power in political contests—while this is the case, she has the right to stand

unassailed by political weapons, and protected by the sympathies of every lover of religious freedom. But, sir, when the Catholic population combine as a party for political purposes, our sacred liberties demand that it should be met by counter-combinations. Such combinations Romanists have publicly and unblushingly avowed. While every other Church is unknown in political partyism, we hear of the "Catholic vote," the "Catholic influence," and "interests." The Constitution of this country knows no religious distinctions. That sacred instrument is untinged with sectional coloring. It neither acknowledges the influence, nor avows the existence of any political party. But the papal party has stepped from this equal platform. She has become a political party, and as such has desired to make herself known and felt. On this ground chosen by herself will she be met and defeated. By all that makes liberty dear to us, by all that binds us to our country, by all the heart-stirring trials and triumphs of our forefathers, and by all our hopes for our country's future, and our posterity's happiness, are Americans determined to give battle, ceaseless, uncompromising battle, to a foreign foe who has prophesied our ruin, and now seeks our destruction.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. FORD.

LETTER V.

RIGHT REV. M. J. SPALDING :

Sir—The more I have reflected on the language you uttered on religious toleration, and that which you penned for the *Courier*, the more have I been astonished at their irreconcilable strangeness. In your communication you say : “ Let them do what I am honestly endeavoring to do—defend their own principles without attacking others. An intelligent community would thus be placed in a position to decide for themselves, and with them I am perfectly willing to leave the decision.” This was your language of January 5th, and how will it compare with your language of December 30th ? You used in the cathedral on that occasion these words, as taken down by several present : “ Once admit this principle of private judgment, and all the evils of sectarianism will follow.” And you have sworn to maintain the decrees of the Council of Trent, which say, (last council decree,) “ If any one shall *presume to think or teach differently from these decrees, let him be accursed.*” And yet, in the face of such affirmation and your own language in the cathedral, you tell the community, through the *Courier*, that you are “ perfectly willing an intelligent community shall decide for themselves.” What, sir, are we to think of this clashing ? Is it consistency, or is it Jesuitism or what ?

But even this palpable contradiction, to use no harsher term, is beggared by the next. You say in your communication, "I mean to attack no denomination of Christians, much less those of this city; and if Protestant ministers will do likewise, we will live in peace." Now, what impression was this language intended to make? Undoubtedly this: That your Church charitably recognizes Protestants as Christians, and as such, feels kindly toward them; and on some minds this utterly erroneous impression was made.

But what, reverend sir, are the facts? How does your Church look on us "heretics," and "rebels against your lord, the Pope?" What are the kindly feelings of that charitable "mother" for us, whom she annually execrates and anathematizes from the high altar of St. Peter's? Let us learn it from her aspect where she is clothed in her strength—where she hides not her hideousness, to win with false charms, but terrifies with her frown, and crushes with her monstrous and overshadowing power. Listen to her voice, where its thunder is feared and her own dark spirit is developed without disguise. What, in Spain, is her oracular definition of a Protestant? The Bishop of Barcelona but recently published a pastoral, denouncing the journal which advocated the grant of a burial place at Madrid, without any restrictions on the performances of religious ceremonies at the grave. It contained, among other amenities, the following passage, which this community will compare with yours:—

“ The Desired of the Nations, God and true Man, conversed with men, and formed His Church. He placed in it, as His Vicar, the Most High Pontiff, centre of unity, rector, doctor, and universal master. Whoever is not with him, is not in the Church ; and whoever has not the Church for mother, has not God for father. Without necessity of prolix explanations, what is a Protestant? An unfortunate, a bastard, without father or mother, and consequently without God (*un desgraciado, un espurco, sin e sin padre ni madre, y de consiguiente sin Dios*).”

This, reverend sir, is the “ charitable ” definition which that “ kind old mother Church ” gives of the “ Christian denominations of this city,” where and when she can fling aside her duplicity, and, in the wine-press of her wrath, crush out the life-blood of the living, and refuse Christian burial to the dead who have refused to bow at her shrine or kiss her crimsoned hand. And this, reverend sir, is the aspect she everywhere wishes to wear, and the tragic and fearful character she everywhere desires to act. I unhesitatingly affirm, and shall abundantly prove, that the mission of her hierarchy, as well as her *secret* societies—the goal of their ambition and the aim of their lives, to accomplish which every element of power is consecrated, every art is industriously plied, and every avenue of success is sleeplessly watched ; the one all-absorbing idea is this—to gain such political ascendancy and influence as shall finally effect, by civil and penal

enactments, the entire suppression of Protestant "Christian denominations."

I repeat it, *the unfaltering purpose of Rome and her subject legions is, to destroy that "pest," religious freedom, here and everywhere, and oppose every constitution, every law, and every man that dare thwart this design.* Do you question it? Do Americans doubt it? Is it too alarming to believe? Too startling and horrible for a stern reality? Let them ponder the proof, and they will doubt it no more; but liberty will appear the more precious from the very perils that surround it.

Immediately after the foundation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Vicar General of the Bishopric of Ghent, in October, 1814, presented the Congress of Vienna a memorial, asking solid guarantees for the "only true religion."

The new constitution provided for unlimited freedom in religious worship. Its language was: "All, without distinction of religious belief, enjoy the same civil and political rights, and are eligible to all dignities and employments whatsoever." Like our own glorious instrument, whose light it reflected, it secured, not "toleration," but perfect freedom to all. Romanism was then in the ascendant—Catholics were the vast majority. The influence of the priesthood was supreme. There was a fair field to display their love of freedom—an opportunity to develop their sympathy with human progress.

But the very sound grated harshly on the ears of Rome's lordly hierarchy. They formed a political

party, denounced the constitution, and refused to take the oath which it prescribed. The bishops published their reasons in what is called the "Doctrinal Decision of the Bishops of the Kingdom of the Netherlands." They say, by taking such an oath, "in fact, they would bind themselves to observe and maintain all the articles of the new constitution, and, consequently, those that were opposed to the *spirit* and *maxims* of the Catholic religion. Now, such," say the bishops, "are the following articles: Art. 190. Liberty of religious opinions guaranteed to all. Art. 192. All the subjects of the king, without distinction of religious belief, to enjoy the same political and civil rights, and are eligible to all dignities and employments whatsoever." I should give this whole document but for its length. It was translated and republished, with approval, by Mr. Andrews, in the Orthodox Journal, then the organ of the English Catholics, in 1819. And does my affirmation need further proof? Can there remain in any mind a doubt but that as the bishops did there, where Catholics were the majority, so would they do here were they not in the minority?—that "the *spirit* and *maxims* of the Catholic religion" developed there, are only smothered or kept in abeyance here, because "the time is not yet?"

Tell us, reverend sir, if the freedom guaranteed in that constitution was opposed to the "spirit and maxims" of the Catholic religion, is not our chart of freedom also opposed to its "spirit and maxims?" And, if the Belgian bishops, guided by the "spirit

and maxims" of the Catholic religion, demanded the suppression, by penal enactments, of Protestants there, would not the American bishops, most of whom are foreigners, if they had the majority, demand the suppression of Protestants here? Yes, sir, I am sustained in the position, that the great undeviating aim of the Roman clergy is, by political agencies and by penal enactments, to suppress Protestantism and destroy religious liberty."

There can be no reasonable doubt, but that the extraordinary efforts of the Court of Rome tend to this one object. That indefinable yet controlling idea impressed on the minds of the Roman clergy—that imaginary something called the "Church"—and of which the Pope is the head; the mediatorial functions claimed by the clergy, thus making their aid essential to acceptance with God; their very rule of faith, which at once flings the darkness of superstition over the human mind, and reduces reason down to the most abject submission to priestly dictation,—all lead them, irresistibly to strive for the subjugation of the temporal to the spiritual world; that is, the subjugation of every earthly government to Rome. "The kingdoms of the earth," said Gregory the Great, "should be subservient to the kingdom of heaven"—meaning the See of Rome. The laws of every government should "be conformed to the canons of the Church." But the canons of the Church forbid men to "think or teach different from the decrees" of the Council of Trent. He who presumes to do so is cursed by the Church, and against him present and future

punishment is denounced. Then freedom to worship God according to the dictates of private judgment, is a protest against the claims of Roman supremacy. It is, in fact, a defiance of curses, and a contempt for her arrogance. Every free constitution, therefore, is a standing witness of Popish wickedness and impotency. The one says: "Man is free to judge for himself—none can interfere with his inalienable rights." The other says: "Man is not free; and if any one shall presume to think for himself, let him be accursed." Let the former principle everywhere prevail—let every country adopt the principle of religious freedom, and what becomes of the authority which Rome claims over the human mind? It is blown at once to the four winds. Beneath a free constitution it cannot flourish; it must wither and disappear under the leaden weight of spiritual oppression, where every noble aspiration of mind is repressed, and every ray of reason shut out by the dark shadow which Rome throws between man and his God. It is there, and there only, that mere minds will be reduced to that calmness which is so essential a condition to the reception of her dogmas. To what course of action, then, does the spirit that actuates her hierarchy naturally prompt them? Linked to society by no ties, and consecrated soul and body to the extension of that monstrous power called the Church, what must be their constant paramount desire and aim? Evidently to remove every hindrance to Rome's universal dominion. To blot out every protest against her oppression. In a word, to destroy every constitution

that guarantees freedom to worship God, and trample every such instrument in the dust, as the Pope has done that granted to the down-trodden Romans.

From the Belgian bishops let us turn to their infallible head, whom you call "*Patris et Domine nostri Dei**—our "Father and our Lord and God the Pope"—and see his practical interpretation of the "spirit and maxims" of the Catholic religion. In a letter addressed to his cardinals by Pope Pius VII, in 1808, among other decisions is the following: "The government of France demands that we shall allow the free public exercise of all forms of worship. This article is opposed to the *Canons, to the Councils, to the Catholic religion*, and on account of the fatal consequences which would result from it to the tranquillity and happiness of the state, *have rejected it.*" Yes, reverend sir, this article—freedom to

* In the documents given by the Court of Rome to students and licentiates, are always found the following expressions :

Datur Romæ ex ædibus nostris, hac die prima mensis Februarii, anno 1827, (or other date.) Induction XIV. Pontificatus S. Santissimi in Christo Patris ET DOMINE NOSTRI DEI, &c.

C. J., *Patriarch Constantinopolitanis, Vices Gerens.*

CAS ANTONIUS, *Canonicus Argenti, Secretarius.*

Translated thus: Given at Rome, at our own house, this first day of February, in the year 1827 ; Induction XIV. of the Pontificate of our most sacred and most holy father, and our Lord and God, Leo XII.

Bishops and priests who profess to have genuine testimonials from Rome, have again and again been challenged to produce them before witnesses, and show that they want these words, Lord, God the Pope.

worship God—is opposed to the Catholic religion, and the Catholic religion is opposed to it. And is not the Catholic religion of the Belgian bishops, and your lord, the Pope, also *your* religion? And are not the Catholic clergy of these United States opposed to this article in our constitution, as the Pope was to it in the constitution in France? And is anything lacking but the political influence, which she hopes emigration will soon give her, to say with ghostly authority, “This article is opposed to the Catholic religion—*we have rejected it?*” And in such an event, which, gracious Heaven forefend, what would be the effect of his veto? Let Bronson answer, whose articles were endorsed by his bishop. “I owe no duties to my country but such as are prescribed by the laws of God, and the only authority the Pope has over me as a citizen, is his authority as *spiritual* guardian and JUDGE OF THAT LAW, *as binding on my conscience.*” “WE HAVE REJECTED IT,” (religious liberty) is the Pope’s *brutum fulmum*, and this veto decides for the Catholics “what is that law, as binding on the conscience”—whether the constitution shall be binding or destroyed. “I owe,” says the true Catholic, “no duties to my country but such as are prescribed by the laws of God.” The Pope is “the judge of that law.” “*We have rejected it!*” thunders his holiness. Then it is not “binding on my conscience,” say his subjects. Such, sir, was the veto, and such its effect in France. When the time comes for that veto to be uttered here, will not its effect on you and its people be the same? Yes, sir, on the

influence gained here by this foreign Prince, and the increase and political weight of his sworn subjects who are rallying on our shores—on this must turn the permanence or prostration of our sacred rights. Let the one succeed, the other falls. Let Rome triumph, and trampled in the dust is the broad ægis that mantles this free land, and *liberty*, driven from her last resting-place, will be succeeded by the darkness and horrors of a spiritual despotism.

In 1815, the same pontiff protested formally before the Congress of Vienna, against the sixteenth article of the act of confederation, granting equal rights to the Christian confessors of Germany.

In 1818, he succeeded with the King of Naples in inserting into his new concordat an article by which “the Catholic and Apostolic and Roman religion is the only religion of the kingdom.” And the present Pope, on March 14, 1848, when forced to grant a constitution to the Romans, inserted this article: “The profession of the Popish religion is indispensable as a qualification for the exercise of civil and political rights!”

Such is the “spirit” of Romanism in Europe. Such are her “maxims” now. I have not gone back to the records of a darker age. My witnesses stand forth amid the light that floods the nineteenth century. What is their testimony? What is her character? In gloomy terror she lifts her bloated form, keeps watch over the grave of a once free people, and the ruin of a once glorious land. A pure theocracy—a politico-religious despotism endeavoring to mould every government into the

form of despotism now established in the states of the Church! Wherever the civil power is strong she clings to it, and adds to its strength in return for what she receives. Wherever the civil power is weak, she winds herself around it, and gradually smothers it down to a mere tool of her own political domination. This is her history in every age and everywhere. It is her history now, and her history here. Let her cross the Atlantic, does it alter her complexion? or does a twelve-days' passage change her "spirit and maxims?"

The new constitution of Equador, in its sixth article, declares that "the religion of the republic is Roman Catholic and apostolic, to the exclusion of every other form of public worship." The bishop of Quito, in his pastoral letter, dated 1843, says, on the subject of this article: "Yes, beloved diocesans, they are pleased to explain the aforesaid article sixth, by giving us to know that so far from protecting toleration, *which we justly feared*, it confirms and strengthens the law which authorizes the prelates to have cognizance of the causes of faith, as did the *extinguished tribunal of the inquisition*," &c. This is Romanism in America. Its spirit is the same. Its design is to overawe or influence the state to abolish freedom; otherwise to execrate, protest against or undermine the constitution she dare not openly oppose. This desire for religious freedom for Americans when in other lands, Archbishop Hughes, in his letter in answer to General Cass calls a "drivelling," "*an arrangement in regard to liberty of conscience suited to*

the policy of the country." Of course, should this Archbishop's political influence warrant it, a different "arrangement" will suit the policy of the country, and will be suggested by "the spirit and maxims of the Catholic Church," to which the Pope and his bishops have declared liberty of conscience is opposed.

And tell us, sir, shall we sit silent when such enemies to our cherished privileges landing in myriads on our shores, and grasping political powers, and concentrating them to effect our ruin? No, reverend sir. Let but Americans see the danger, and they are there—at their post—

"Where, firm as their mountains and still as their graves,
O'er the proud heads of freemen our star banner waves."

But, sir, I must write you one more letter, which may be my last. I have shown in this, that the policy of Rome and her priesthood is to effect, by penal enactments, the suppression of every form of religious worship but her own. I shall show in my next, that she is nothing but a great political party, struggling for universal temporal domination—meddling with politics and sustained by political management, and that she is therefore a proper subject of political discussion.

Yours, &c.

S. H. FORD.

P. S. If, out of the numerous extracts from Catholic newspapers, clipped by myself from those journals, and, as I have since learned, clipped by two other gentlemen in this city, the *genuineness*

of any one of them be *denied*, over a responsible name, I will then hunt up the papers from which the extracts were clipped. Otherwise, my constant engagements, attending meetings at my church twice a day, do not justify me in taking that much trouble. "1852," in one quotation, was a mere oversight.

S. II. F.

LETTER VI.

RIGHT REV. M. J. SPALDING:

Sir—In my last I presented incontestible proofs from the Bishops of your Church and from its infallible head, that the hierarchy of Rome are not only opposed to religious freedom, but determined to blot it out from every constitution here, everywhere, and forever. Were further proof wanting, I need but point you to France, at this time, and to her perjured and perfidious ruler, who is the best beloved son of the “mother church.” “The Protestants of France,” I quote from the Louisville Democrat of the 5th inst., “lately petitioned Louis Napoleon for religious toleration. The tyrant informed them that he recognized liberty of conscience, but not liberty of worship. Such are the subterfuges of those who excuse or justify intolerance. The theory of Bishop Hughes is, that governments may forbid positive acts of worship as the conscience dictates, but should not require positive acts which the conscience forbids.”

Yes, reverend sir, “governments may forbid” and punish by law with imprisonment or death “positive acts of worship.” This is the insulting doctrine of the despicable oppressor of France. And the high-priest of Romanism in America does, in the face of freemen, insult the soil on which he stands, and the memory of its martyred

heroes, by echoing this disgraceful language on these shores which welcomed him from the oppressions of his native land. What a comment is this on the ultimate designs of the Roman hierarchy on our institutions?—One that should startle from his apathy every lover of his country—that the one steady, uncompromising purpose is such domination, that, as is the case in every country where their influence predominates, they may “forbid positive acts of worship as the conscience dictates,” when contrary to the will of him whom superstition has invested with the attributes of a God, to—

“Put out the light, and then put out the light.”

But how, reverend sir, will this refusal to grant liberty of worship in *Catholic* France accord with your statements in the Cathedral on the night of the 31st of December. Your audience will remember—and unless their right of private judgment is vetoed or destroyed, will begin to lose confidence in your historical accuracy—you stated that *Catholic France was an example that Catholicism was the friend and advocate of religious liberty*. And yet at that very moment you ought to have known, that Catholic France prohibited liberty of worship, and that the paper called *L’Univers*, the organ of the Archbishop of Paris, had just announced with grateful satisfaction, that a Christian named Messine, had been arrested at Yansac, and condemned to three month’s imprisonment, and pay a fine of three thousand francs, with costs, for saying that Mary, the mother of Jesus, had had other children besides him.

But there is another question which Americans will ask and which you certainly will not like to answer. When a former constitution in France guaranteed the "free public exercises of all forms of worship," the Pope, in a circular addressed to his Cardinals, said "it is opposed to the councils, the canons of the Catholic religion. We have rejected it." And the Catholic advocates of religious liberty in France at once succumbed. Now, will the Pope reject this prohibiture of liberty of worship, by Napoleon, as he did the permission granted in a former constitution. Never, never! The fiat of the despot is in consonance with the spirit of the Vatican, and the character of the "son" displays the nature of the "mother," who, in her dotage leans upon his arm.

But what cares Louis Napoleon for the dogmas of the Roman Church? He, who during the conclave that elected Gregory XVI., headed a conspiracy to seize Saint Angelo and become master of Rome, regards the pretensions of the High Priest of Rome as he does those of the successors of the prophet of Mecca. To him it is simply a political engine, part of whose machinery is superstition, and by which he can beat down into the dust the rights of millions he has enslaved by his treachery. He can say, as did Pope Leo, the tenth, "Oh, how profitable has this fable of Jesus been unto us."

A certain Pope found a statue of Jupiter among the rubbish of Pagan Rome. He removed its head and replaced another of the same metal and called it the statue of Peter. It still stands at the entrance

of Saint Peter's, at the Vatican. On entering that stupendous building, the people render it the homage the Pagans rendered to the chief God of Olympus. And this statue stands there a significant emblem, a monumental exponent of the policy of Rome, and the religions of the Popes. From the buried ruins of Paganism has she exhumed its lifeless form, and placed on her threshold the splendid fiction, with the added and no less baseless legend of St. Peter's primacy and martyrdom at Rome, to give it countenance. Thus, as by the pontiff emperors, so by the pontiff Popes is religion regarded as an artful and powerful auxiliary to one design—universal conquest and dominion.

The only consistent view of the church is that of a political establishment, employing religious terms, and fulminating religious edicts, but only as the pretext of an inordinate pursuit of secular and temporal objects. Does this assertion appear too sweeping? Would the generous promptings of the human heart incline us to judge more favorably of her motives? Let the stern and faithful voice of history decide. Let her own deviating course prove her fearful and deceptive character, and the past will light our footsteps in the darkness of the future. Read its history as that of an institution whose only mission is to bless the world with the light of immortal hope; to point to the skies and lead the way, and you stumble at every step, and are struck by its disgusting incongruities. But read the same history as that of one of the kingdoms of this world, ever grasping and jealous, and ready to form any

alliance however unnatural, break any tie however binding, perpetrate any crime however revolting, and march, if necessary, through seas of blood to attain the goal of its ambition—and then her history is consistent and just what you are prepared to expect. Even the Pope's spiritual supremacy originated in a political revolution, and was established by a blood stained usurper for political ends. When Phocas, after he had murdered Mauritius and family, usurped the government and became emperor of Rome, detesting the Bishops of Constantinople, and needing the influence of the Roman Bishop, he sanctioned his claim, and, in fact, made Boniface III., pope of Rome, by the title of universal Bishop.*

In the year 751 when Pepin formed a conspiracy for dethroning Childeric, Pope Zachary I. was consulted "whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and war-like people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the State.† The Pope answered in the affirmative. He decreed Pepin to be king of France. Childeric was stript of royalty, and Pepin assended the throne and was anointed by the Pope's legate at Soissons. Zachary afterwards entered France

* See Anastasius, *De Vitis Pontificum*. Paul Diacon, *De Rebus gestis Tongohard*. Lib. IV. cap 34.

† See Bossuet *Defens Declarationis elen Gallicane* part 1, page 225: *Mosh. Eccl. Hist.*

in 754, and re-annointed Pepin, and in return the usurper, at the Pope's request, entered Italy with a numerous army, defeated the Lombards, and the following year established the Pope as a temporal prince. The Popedom, both as a religious and temporal power, owes its origin to political change, and was established by ambitious tyrants for political purposes. The states of the church which he rules with an iron rod, he receives in return for sanctioning usurpations, and by the aid of foreign mercenaries alone, has he held the doubtful tenure. At his call Charles D'Angeo pounced upon Italy with his ruthless adventurers to overthrow the Selician Government; at the time that upper Italy was ready to unite under the standard of the valiant and unfortunate Manfred, and be free. It was at the call of the Pope that the army of France broke down the power of the Venitians and quenched the last lingering light of Italy.

With Catholic France, with Protestant England, with Saracens and Turks, monarchies and republics, Mohammedans and Christians has his *holiness* sided and united his arms just as he thought the *unholy* alliance would strengthen the bulwarks of his political power and give reality to his splendid vision of universal empire. Called into existence by the concessions of an earthly monarch, the interests of the papacy have changed with the fluctuations of human affairs. Constantine and Theodosius, in the fourth century, Otho and Henry III., in the tenth and eleventh, called in the priesthood to their assistance, and in return, it compelled their suc-

cessors to vacate their thrones. "A king of England received his kingdom from her as a fief. A king of Arragon transferred his to the apostle Peter,"—and Naples was actually given over by the Pope, to foreigners who became its governors. After the Reformation, Rome was for half a century the very soul of the monarchs who swayed the destiny of Europe. But as the power of the Papacy touched the summit of her pride,—commenced her decline. The last political drama in which she played a part worthy of her "vaulting ambition," was the peace of Verona, in 1578. The change which marshalled nations in new combinations, on the battlefield of European diplomacy, threw the papacy in the back-ground, and at the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, the countries which the Pope looked upon as fiefs, were allotted to new rulers without his consent. In 1813, Pius VII. having witnessed the eclipse of papal power, and the downfall of his temporal kingdom, reluctantly yielding to destiny, consented to live in Paris as the Primate of the Catholic Church. The drama was apparently finished. The curtain was slowly falling over the closing scenes of a struggle as bloody as it was political, and once as fearful and splendid as it now was prostrate and despised. The papacy, from the loss of political power, was about to breathe its last. But, when at the very limits of exhaustion and ready to sink, a new turn of the wheel of political fortune moved back the hand of time a full century, sent the French revolution to the grave, and the allied monarchs banishing Napoleon

to Elba, breathed new life into the sinking papacy, and reëstablished its throne over the prostrate rights of humanity.

This rapid grouping of historical facts with all the associations it awakens in the mind of the historian, what does it prove? Let calm reflection but for a moment dwell upon it. Let but reason light up the canvass, and all over the picture *politics*, *politics* is emblazoned—political power, temporal dominion; shaded it may be, here and there, and even hidden with the deep colorings of superstition, yet palpably and prominently is seen, in direct antagonism to the words of Christ: My kingdom *was* of this world—this world *is* made for Cæsar.

When Gregory XVI., at the request of the autocrat of Russia, ordered the Poles to lay down their arms and die the death of martyrs, though he well knew what would afterwards take place—that two millions of Roman Catholics would be at once transferred to the Russio-Greek Church—did one interceding cry go forth from the Vatican. When Poland fell, and freedom wept her sufferings and her ruin, was the “holy father’s” heart moved for his faithful children, peeled and scathed by tyrants, whom the Pope deemed heretics? No, reverend sir, *a thousand times no!* Why slept his thunder then? When gallant, prostrated, bleeding Poland, still brave and struggling even in death, was torn, dismembered, stript of every right, and blotted from the map of Europe—when, had Rome lifted her voice, it might have saved her patriotic sons from

the sufferings of Siberia, or the wretchedness of exile,—not a remonstrance did she utter, no intercession did she make. Where was her boasted love for her dogmas then? Ah, she had something dearer to her at stake. Though Poland was to be divided among rulers whose religion was anti-Catholic, their politics agreed with his. And he sanctioned their atrocity, and fulminated his anathemas against poor, plundered Poland. On her most cherished superstitions will she trample, when they interfere with her political aggrandizement.

Catholic unity is a forced cohesion from outward compulsion. The oppressors of Europe keep her system together to strengthen themselves against the up-risings of their down-trodden subjects. "I own it is evident," says Pope Gregory in his bull of May 9th, 1844, "from past experience, that there are no means more certain of rendering them indifferent to religion than under the mask of religious liberty, inasmuch as *once religiously free, they will be politically free also.*" There is the secret. Political slavery is the object to be gained—religious slavery the means to that end. "The church," said Pope Pius IV., "could not subsist *without the aid of kings;*" while in the ear of monarchs rung incessantly the words of Pius V.: "A union with the church is essential to their safety." Here, in fact, in the decisions of those two infallibles, are the hinges on which turn the politics of Europe in regard to the Roman Church. And after the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of the Pope, the holy alliance of the kings of Europe

in solemn public contract to aid each other in destroying the very name of liberty, said in the article of their bond of alliance: "The contracting powers offer in common their thanks to the Pope for all he has done already in their behalf, *and solicit his constant coöperation in subjugating the nations.*" There is the character of the papacy, and there are its designs and its support. It is the creature of the monarchies of Europe and the power of Jesuits.

"From those days, centuries before the election was vested in the college of cardinals," when the historian described the streets of Rome as running with blood in the contests between Damascus and Ursicinus—from the days when Theodoric the Ostrogath and the Exarchate of Ravenna were compelled to interpose in order to secure peace—down through the wild tumults of the 9th and 10th centuries—the succession of the popes at Avignon, appointed by the court of France; the frequent coalitions of pope and anti-pope, till the councils of Pisa and Constance took upon themselves to decide between three "infallible heads" of Christendom—the less violent but not less antagonistic struggles of the great European powers to obtain a pontiff in the French, the Spanish, or the Austrian interests—in a word, through the whole papal history, the election of the prince of Rome has been the center of fierce conflict, adroit diplomacy, and of political management. The influence of a corrupt monarch would often decide the choice. The power of a bribe often gave to the world a pope.

The secrets of the conclave, as revealed by the Jesuit Jolly, display the struggles of interest, the play of passions, the bold hazards, the skilful advances, the adroit proposal of a name without pretensions, to cover the real intentions of some more hopeful candidate, till some bold and active movement, or some powerful outside influence decide the game, and from the political contest emerges some ordinary human being, often the tool of a faction or a tyrant, and the world is told on pain of imprisonment and death here, and damnation hereafter, to believe him infallible, to obey him as a prince, and bow to him as the Vicar of Christ, and Lord and God—the Pope. And shall we whom God has made free, cringe the supple hinges of the knee to this pompous Lord of Rome? Never, sir, never! In the language of Shakspeare:

“Show me authority in honor’s garb,
And I will down upon the humblest knee
That ever homage bent to sovereign sway;
But shall I reverence pride, and hate, and rapine?
No, when oppression stains the robe of state,
And power’s a whip of scorpions in the hands
Of heartless knaves to lash the overburdened back
Of honest industry—the loyal blood
Will turn to bitterest gall, and the o’er charged heart
Explode in execration.”

There is Papal Rome. Her arrogant claim, her tyranny, her true character. Neutralize and destroy the political element which enters so largely into the corrupt and unnatural compound, and what is left? A mere lifeless skeleton, which would soon

moulder back into its original dust. Sustained on her tottering throne of temporal and temporary dominion by the interference and arms of neighboring despots, the rock on which she rests is on the crust of a volcano, whose fury, awakened by a single spark, would bury beneath its ruins forever that monstrous incubus of the night of ages.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. FORD.

LETTER VII.

RIGHT REV. M. J. SPALDING:

Sir—In your lecture on the “Power of the Pope” you stated, certainly in the most ambiguous phraseology, that the Pope claimed no power but what necessarily resulted from his spiritual supremacy. You did not say that the exercise of temporal power, resulting from his spiritual supremacy, or from anything else connected with the Popedom would be wrong in itself or opposed to the spirit or the canons of the Roman Church. And yet the aim and object of your lecture was to leave on your audience the impression that “the Pope never claimed for himself, nor has the church claimed for him, the right to interfere between subjects and their sovereigns, or between citizens and their governments.” And this, reverend sir, you gave, not as your own view of the question, but as the settled and unchallenged doctrine of the whole Roman Catholic Church. As your lecture was evidently a refutation of one recently delivered in a neighboring city, I will here quote the impartial report of your lecture there on this same subject:

“It has been said the power of the Pope was unlimited and extended beyond the spiritual, and that Catholics were the subjects of a Pope, not merely in spiritual, but in temporal things, even so far as to affect their allegiance to the government under which they live. But this was not the doctrine nor

the discipline of the Catholic Church, as has been announced clearly and officially, not merely in this country, but throughout the world. Outside of the immediate Roman States, the Pope has great power indeed, but beyond his own small States, he has no power to control the civil allegiance of any individuals. This was proclaimed, not only by the Roman Catholics of this country, but in Europe. When the Catholic Relief Bill was before the British Parliament, William Pitt sent agents to all the Catholic Universities to know the doctrine on the subject, and the answer was, that the Pope's jurisdiction was confined to spiritual matters. This satisfied the Parliament, and the Relief Bill was passed; yet the shrewd Republicans of this country had recently waked up to the awful danger to the country, from the overshadowing power of the Sovereign Pontiff."

Here, then, you state emphatically, that "the temporal power of the Pope" "was not the doctrine nor the discipline of the church, as has been announced clearly and officially, not merely in this country, but throughout the world." How, in the face of an intelligent community, you could make such a statement as this, is only explained by remembering that you qualify the word power by "unlimited," thus leaving something on which to fall back if too closely questioned. But be this as it may, your evident object was to leave the impression, as you doubtless did on superficial minds, that your church had clearly announced that the Pope claimed no temporal power outside his own States. In the very face, therefore, of your statements, let me bring to your notice the highest authorities of the Roman Catholic Church on this subject.

You are doubtless well acquainted with *Bellarmino*. His authority as a theologian you will not question, nor his extreme orthodoxy you will not doubt. It may be presumed that his works are in your library, and I need but cite you to the chapter and page. But for the benefit of others who may read this, permit me to give a literal translation of what that *most* distinguished prince of the Romish church says on the *spiritual power of the Pope in civil affairs*.

In his fifth on the Roman Pontiff, on the temporal power, he says there are three opinions, which he states as follows :

“ The first is, *that the chief Pontiff, by divine right, hath the fullest power over the whole world, as well in ecclesiastical as in political affairs*. So teach Augustinus Trumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, and many canonists, as Hostensis, Panormitanus, Sylvester, and others not a few ; and even Hostenis goes further ; for he teaches that by the coming of Christ, all dominion of infidel princes is translated to the Church, and resides in the supreme Pontiff, as vicar of the supreme and true king, Christ ; and therefore the Pope can, of his own right, give the kingdoms of infidels to any of the faithful he sees fit.

“ The other opinion, placed in the other extreme, teaches, 1. *That the Pontiff, as Pontiff, and by divine right, hath no temporal power, nor can he in any manner govern secular princes, nor deprive them of their kingdoms and authority, although they otherwise would deserve to be deprived*. 2. *That it is not lawful for the Pope, and for other bishops to receive the temporal dominion which they now have over certain cities and provinces ; whether the dominion was given to them, or they usurped it ; for divine right prohibits that one man should have the spiritual and temporal sword*

committed to him at the same time. Thus all the heretics of our time teach so; and especially Calvin, Peter Martyr, Brentius, the Centuriatores.

“The third is the middle, and is the common opinion of Catholic theologians, that the Pontiff, as Pontiff, has not directly and immediately any temporal power, *but only spiritual power*; yet, on account of the spiritual power, he hath especially indirectly, a certain power, and that supreme, in temporal matters. Thus Henricus, Driedo, Turrecremata, Pighius, Thomas Waldensis, Petrus a Palude, Cajetan, Franciscus Victoria, Dominus a Soto, Sanders, etc.

“We, therefore, will treat of these three. We will show,

“1. That the Pontiff, by divine right, has not directly temporal power.

“2. That he has in some manner, that is, *on account of the spiritual monarchy*, supreme temporal power also.

“3. That it is not contrary to divine right that bishops, in fact, and directly, should possess temporal jurisdiction over cities and provinces, either given to them by kings, or acquired by any just title.”*

Here, reverend sir, is the statement of the great, the learned and authoritative Cardinal Bellarmine, saying that the Pope “on account of the spiritual power he hath especially indirectly a certain power, *and that supreme on temporal matters.*” And this, he also says, “is the common opinion among Catholic theologians.” How will this accord with your statement that “it has been announced clearly and

* Bellarm. De Rom. Pontiff, Lib. V, cap. 1, Tome 1, page 1058.

officially ” “ that this is not the action of the Catholic church ? ”

But further along the cardinal explains this action thus :

“ That the Pope hath, indirectly, temporal or civil power.”

“ The doctrine of the theologians is to be first *explained* ; and then it is to be *proved*.

“ As to the first, we assert, that the Pontiff, as Pontiff, although he has not any merely temporal power, hath, nevertheless, in order to a spiritual good, the supreme power of disposing of the temporal concerns of all Christians.

“ Thus the spiritual powers should not mix with temporal affairs, but permit all things to proceed as they were before they were joined together, while they do not obstruct the spiritual end, or are not necessary to accomplish it. But if such a thing should happen, the spiritual power can and ought to coerce the temporal power in every manner and way which would seem to be necessary for that purpose.

“ But let us more particularly explain all these. The spiritual power of the Pope may be compared with the persons of judges or secular princes ; with their civil laws ; and with their courts and decisions.

“ As to their persons, the Pope cannot, as Pope, ordinarily depose temporal princes, even for just cause, in the same manner in which he deposes bishops, that is, as *ordinary judge* ; yet he can *change the kingdoms*, and take away from one and confer on another, as *supreme spiritual prince*, if that is necessary for the salvation of souls, as we will prove.

“ As it respects laws, the Pope, as Pope, cannot ordinarily enact a civil law, or confirm it, or annul the laws of princes, because, as prince of the Church,

he is not a political person. Yet he can do all these things, if any civil law is necessary for the salvation of souls, if kings are unwilling to make them; or if any law is injurious to the salvation of souls, and yet kings are unwilling to abrogate it.

“The best rule is that of the canon law, namely, the professor of a bad faith cannot prescribe in any case. *Sext. Lib. V, Tit. 12, de regulis juris, Possessor etc.* When, in the same case, the imperial and pontifical laws are found to be contrary, if the matter of the law is a thing comprising the peril of souls, the imperial law is abrogated by the pontifical; and in this manner the pontifical law abrogates the imperial law. *Sext. Lib. II, Tit. 13, cap. 2. Si qui exigentibus.* But when the matter of the law is temporal, not concerning peril of souls, the pontifical law cannot abrogate the imperial law, but each is to be observed; the one in the ecclesiastical court, the other in the civil court.

“As it respects decisions, the Pope, as Pope, cannot judge ordinarily in temporal things. Nevertheless, in a case in which there is anything necessary for the salvation of souls, the Pope can also assume temporal decisions, when there is no one who can judge; or when two supreme kings contend, or when those who can and ought to judge are unwilling to make a decision. Hence, Pope Innocent III, as in the canon law, declares—*Decret. Greg. IX, Lib. IV, Tit. 17, cap. 13, Per venerabilem*—that the Pope exercises temporal jurisdiction only casually.”*

But to show fully and fairly the doctrine of the Catholic church on this subject, I will present the argument of Bellarmine, which if any Roman bishop in this country would dare to refute, he would at once be denounced by the court of Rome as a rebel

* Bellarm. De Pontiff, Lib. V, cap. 6, Tome 1, page 1068.

against "our lord the Pope," and his refutation enrolled in the *Index expurgatorius*.

"1. Now let us come to examples. The first is Uzziah, who usurped the office of priest, and was driven out of the temple by the high priest; and when, on account of this sin, he was struck with leprosy by God, he was forced to leave the city, and relinquish the kingdom to his son. Now, as the king dwelt out of the city in a solitary house, and his son in the city judged the people of the land, we are forced to affirm that he was separated by the decision of the priest, and consequently deprived of his authority to reign. If, therefore, on account of a bodily leprosy, the priest could formerly deprive a king of his kingdom, why could this not be done in like manner on account of spiritual leprosy, for the sake of heresy, which is represented by leprosy, as Augustine teaches in his questions on the evangelists, [Lib. II. quest. 40,] especially when, in 1st Corinthians, x. Paul says, that all these things happened to the Jews in a figure?

"2. The second is, 2d Chronicles, xxiii. when Athaliah tyrannically occupied the throne, and favored the worship of Baal, Jehoiada, the high-priest, called together the centurions and soldiers to kill her. This they did; and in her place Joash was made king, which the high-priest not only approved of, but commanded it.

"The third example is that of St. Ambrose, who was bishop of Milan, and pastor and spiritual father of the Emperor Theodosius. He first excommunicated him on account of the slaughter which he commanded to be made of the soldiers of Thessalonica, and then commanded him to bring in a law revoking the order for destruction. But Ambrose could not excommunicate Theodosius on account of that slaughter, unless he had first heard the cause and judged it, although it was criminal and belonged to the civil court. But he could not

take cognizance of and judge his cause in the civil court, unless he had been also the legitimate judge of Theodosius.

“Moreover, as the bishop could compel the Emperor to make a political law, and to prescribe to him the form of the law, is it not manifest that the bishop could sometimes use the temporal power, even against those who have received power over others? And if any bishop could do this, how much more the prince of bishops!

“4. The fourth is the example of Gregory I, in the privilege which he concedes to the monastery of St. Medardus, and is found in the end of his epistles: ‘If,’ says he, ‘any kings, presidents, judges, or any other secular persons, shall have violated the decrees of this our apostolical authority and prescription, let him be deprived of his honor, of whatsoever dignity or sublimity it may be.’

“5. The fifth is a case by Gregory II, who forbade tribute to be paid by the Italians to the Emperor Leo, Scenomachus, who was excommunicated by himself; and hence he fined him in behalf of the empire.

“6. The sixth case is the act of Pope Zachary, who, being asked by the principal men of France, deposed Childeric, and commanded that Pepin, the father of Charles the Great, should be created king in his stead. The reason of this was the sluggishness of Childeric, and the extreme ruin that was hanging over religion and the kingdom in Gaul. This appears from Cedrenus, Paul, the deacon, and the Bishop Boniface.

“The seventh is the example of Pope Leo III, who transferred the kingdom from the Greeks to the Germans, because that the Greeks would furnish no assistance to the distressed western Church; from which it happens, that although the imperial dignity, absolutely considered, is not from the Pontiff, but from God, by the law of nations, as we

have shown above from Gelasius, Nicholas, and Innocent III; yet the emperors, who were after Charles the Great, owe their empire to the Pope.

“For although this power, existing now among the Germans, is from the Pope, and although it is not absolutely necessary that the Pope should confirm the Emperor, nor that the Emperor should take an oath of fidelity to the Pope; yet, from the time of the translation of the empire to the Germans, each is required, as appears from Pope Innocent III, as contained in the canon law, nor is this unjustly required. (*Clem., Lib. II, Tit. IX, cap. unum, Romani principes, etc.; Decret., Greg. IX, Lib. I, Tit. VI, cap. 34. Venerabilem.*) For whosoever could confer the empire on the Germans for the safety of the Church, could also enjoin certain conditions for the same cause, that a heretic or schismatic should not be created emperor.

“The same thing is taught by Innocent III, and inserted in the canon law. ‘*To them,*’ he says, ‘*the right and power of this sort proceeds from the apostolic seat, which hath transferred the Roman empire to the Germans, in the person of Charles the Great.*’ (*Decret., Greg. IX, Lib. I, Tit. VI, cap. 34. Venerabilem.*) And there, in the canon law, he enjoins on the princes of Germany to acknowledge this openly. Charles the Great not obscurely acknowledges the same, when his will, written by himself, in which he left his sons heirs of the empire, was sent to Pope Leo, that he might confirm it by his signature, as Ada writes in his Chronicon.

“8. The eighth example is that of Gregory V, who gave his sanction for the election of Emperor, by seven princes of Germany; and this continues to this day; . . . and this was done by *divine right*; . . . as the Pontiff is superior to the emperor and all princes; . . . for Innocent III, who sat in the apostolic seat seventy years before Gregory X,

indicates, as in the canon law, that the right of choosing an emperor was conceded by the apostolic seat to certain princes of Germany." (*Decretal I, 6, cap. 34. Venerabilem.*)

The extract in the canon referred to is as follows :
 "We acknowledge, as we ought, that the right and power of choosing a king, to be afterward chosen as an emperor, belonged to these princes to whom, by right and ancient custom, it is known to have belonged, especially when to them the right and power of this sort was derived from the apostolic seat, which transferred the Roman power, in the person of Charles the Great, from the Greeks to the Romans." *Decretal, Lib. I, Tit. I, cap. 34. Venerabilem.*

"9. The ninth is the example of Gregory VII, who deposed the Emperor Henry IV, and commanded another to be chosen, which also was done.

"10. The tenth is the example of Innocent III, who deposed Otho IV.

"11. The eleventh is the example of Innocent IV, who, in the General Council of Lyons, deposed Frederick II, and vacated the empire for twenty-seven years. The whole of this sentence is in the canon law. (*Cap., ad apostolicæ, de sententia, et re judicata, in Sexto.*) Also the same Innocent IV, gave to the king of Portugal a certain coadjutor, who should administer the kingdom, whenever, by the negligence of the king, the republic and religion would suffer loss in Portugal. This, too, is to be found in the canon law. (*Sexto, cap. Grande, de supplenda negligentier Prelatorum.*)

"12. The twelfth is that of Clement VI, who deposed the Emperor Lewis IV, who had been excommunicated by John XXII and Benedict XII, whose history see in Pighius, and Robertus Arbericensis on the *two swords*." (*Bellarmini opera,*

de Rom. Pontif., Lib. V, cap. 8, Tom. I, page 1085 to 1881.

In the fifth chapter the same writer says :

“ The opinion of the theologians proved by reasons.

“ This doctrine may be proved in a twofold way, namely, by reasons and examples.

“ The first reason. The civil power is subject to the spiritual power, when each is a part of the same Christian republic; for the spiritual prince can govern temporal princes, and dispose of temporal affairs, for the purpose of a spiritual good, because every superior can govern his own inferiors.

“ For the political power, as such, not only as it is Christian, but also as political, is subject to the ecclesiastical power. This is demonstrated:—

“ 1. From the ends of each ; for a temporal or civil end is subordinate to a spiritual end. This is plain, because a temporal felicity is not absolutely an ultimate end, so that it can be referred to eternal felicity.

“ 2. Kings and pontiffs, clergymen and laymen do not make two republics, but one, that is, one Church ; for we are all one body, Romans xii ; 1 Corinthians xii. But in every body the members are connected, and depend the one upon another. But it cannot be properly said, that spiritual things depend on temporals ; therefore, temporal things depend on spiritual things, and are subjected to them.

“ 3. If a temporal administration impedes a spiritual good, in the judgment of all, the temporal prince is bound to change that mode of administration, although it may be with the loss of a temporal good. Therefore the standard is, that the temporal or civil power is to be subject to the spiritual.

“ Nor will it suffice to say, that any prince is required to change the course of his administration,

on account of subjection or subordination to the spiritual power, but only for the sake of charity, by which we are bound to prefer a greater good to a less. Because, for the sake of charity, no republic is required to suffer loss, lest a similar loss should be suffered by another and a nobler republic; and even a private person, who is bound to give all his goods for the preservation of his own republic, is not bound to do the same for another republic, although it may be more noble. When, therefore, the temporal republic may be held to suffer loss for a spiritual end, the standard is, not that the two are different, but parts of one and the same, and the one subject to the other.

“ *The second reason.* The ecclesiastical republic ought to be perfect and sufficient in itself, in order to obtain its own end. Such are all well-constituted republics; therefore, it ought to have every power necessary to accomplish its own end. But the power of using and disposing of temporal or civil things is necessary to the spiritual end, because, otherwise, bad princes could, with impunity, cherish heretics, and overturn religion. Therefore, the spiritual power hath this authority.

“ Furthermore, any republic, because it ought to be perfect and sufficient of itself, to govern another republic not subject to it, and force it to change its administration, nay, even to depose its prince, and institute another, when it can not otherwise defend itself from the injuries of the other. Therefore, much more *can the spiritual kingdom govern the temporal republic subject to it, and force it to change its administration, and depose princes, and institute others, when it can not otherwise accomplish its own spiritual good*; and in this sense are to be understood the words of Bernard, Lib. IV., *de consideratione*; and of Boniface VIII. on the Extravagant, *Unam Sanctum*, on *superiority and obedience*, where he says that each sword is

under the power of the Pope. (*Corpus jur. Can. Extrav. Com., Lib. I., Tit. 3, cap. 1.*) Their meaning is, that the Pontiff possesses himself and properly the spiritual sword; and because the temporal sword is subject to the spiritual, the Pope can govern the king, or interdict the use of the temporal sword, when the necessity of the Church requires it.

“And such is the meaning of St. Bernard’s words, which Boniface imitates: ‘Why do you,’ says he, addressing the Pope, ‘endeavor at length to take up the sword, which you once commanded to be put in the scabbard? He who denies this sword to be thine, does not sufficiently attend to the word of the Lord, who says thus, “Put thy sword into the sheath.” Therefore, thy sword, and his, perhaps, by thy nod, is to be drawn out, not by thy hand; otherwise, if in no manner it pertains to thee, we cannot account for the saying of the apostle, “Behold, here are two swords.” The Lord does not say, it is too much, but it is enough. Each, therefore, belongs to the Church, namely, the spiritual sword and the material sword. But the latter is to be exercised *for* the Church, and the former *by* the Church. The one is to be used by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of the soldier, but at the *nod* of the priest, and the *command* of the emperor.’

“Here, also, it is to be observed, that when heretics reprehend the Extravagant of Boniface as erroneous, arrogant, tyrannical—for so they speak concerning it in general—they are to be admonished that they should consider that these are the words of Bernard in his books on consideration. And without praising him, Calvin would seem to say, that Bernard spoke, in these books, as truth itself would seem to speak.

“*The third reason.* It is not lawful for Christians to tolerate an infidel king or a heretic, if he

would endeavor to draw away his subjects to his heresy, or to infidelity ; but to judge whether the king does or does not draw them away to heresy, belongs to the Pope, to whom is committed the care of religion ; therefore, it belongs to the Pope to judge whether the king is to be deposed, or not to be deposed.

“ *The fourth reason.* When kings and princes come to the Church that they might become Christians, they are received with this express condition, either expressed or understood, that their scepters should be subject to Christ, and they promise that they shall preserve and defend the faith of Christ, even under the pain of losing their kingdoms. When, therefore, they become heretics or oppose religion, they can be judged by the Church, and even deposed from their dominion ; nor is there any injury done them should they be deposed. For he is not fit for the sacrament of baptism, who is not ready to serve Christ, and for his sake lose whatsoever he now possesses, Luke xiv: *If any one cometh to me, and hateth not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, nay, even his own life, he cannot be my disciple.* Moreover, the Church would err very much, if she would tolerate any king who would, with impunity, cherish any sect, and defend heretics, and overturn religion.”*

I have quoted thus at length from the eminent Roman theologian because, he is one to whose memory your Church has done reverence, and whose writings give testimony as to what is the common belief on this subject, but also because he is looked up to by your Church as an unquestioned authority on this very subject. What then are we to think

* Bellarmine, de Rom. Pontif. Lib. V. cap. 7, Tom. 1071.

of your statement that "Catholic theologians do not claim *unlimited* temporal power for the Pope." Will you say that Bellarmine was wrong—that he differed on this subject from the great body of your Church. No, reverend sir, you will not; you dare not do this. And yet, such was the apparently designed impression which your lecture made upon your auditory.

Had you told your hearers, that there were two parties in your Church, the Gallican or liberal party, and an Ultramundane party,—that this last, who believe that the Pope, "by reason of the spiritual power has also supreme power, at least indirectly in temporal matters," are the vast majority, including the Pope, all the cardinals, all the Jesuits, and, with few exceptions, all the Bishops. Had you told your audience that the small Gallican minority denying the Pope's temporal power, is called by "good Catholics," "the half-way house to Protestantism," to be "stingy, narrow-minded and frozen-hearted, always splitting the difference between Peter and Cæsar, God and the devil." Had you thus avowed yourself one of this despised little Gallican minority, you would have shown a fearlessness and fairness which would have become a man of your culture and position. But, instead of this, you substitute Gallicanism for Romanism, and while you cling to the latter, you bring forward the statements of the former, as the doctrine of the Roman Church. As well might I deny that the denomination to which I belong are not strict

communions, because Robert Hall, and a few other eminent men, believed differently and have written against it.

But I have shown what is the doctrine of Romanism, elaborated by one of its greatest historians; I will now show that this supreme power in temporal matters, has been claimed and “announced,” to use your own language, “clearly and officially,” both by Popes, Cardinals and theologians of Gregory VII. The Roman Catholic historian, Dupin, states that the whole aim of his pontificate “was to bring all the crowned heads under his subjection, and to oblige them to hold their kingdoms as fiefs of the Holy See, and to govern them at his discretion.” * If this needed any additional proof the following extract from his bull excommunicating Henry IV., would leave not a doubt remaining:

“It has pleased thee, O Peter, Chief of the Apostles, and does please thee, that the people of Christendom (*Christignus populus*) committed specially to Thee, should render obedience to me. In this confidence, for the dignity and defence of Thy holy Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose imperial and royal administration King Henry, son of Henry, sometime emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy Church. I absolve all Christian subjects to the empire from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings; for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity who doth endeavor to diminish the majesty of the Church.” †

* Dupin IX: 48.

† Conc. Rom, iii. op. Binum, vii, 484,

The doctrine established by Gregory, (and maintained by his successors with greater or less strictness from that day to this) is, that the Pope is Christ's vicegerent and representative in the administration of human affairs; and that "the deposing power is inherent in him as head of the spiritual authority, as the guardian and judge of the law under which kings and emperors hold their crowns, and have the right to reign," (this last is the language of a Romanist writer, not mine.) By this authority Paschal II., in 1099, deposed Henry IV.; Innocent III., in 1210, deposed Otho IV.; Gregory IX., in 1239, excommunicated Frederick II., and absolved his subjects from their allegiance; Innocent IV., in 1245, pronounced sentence of deprivation against the same Frederick II.; Boniface VIII., in 1302, thundered forth against Phillippe le Bel, of France, the famous bull *Unam Sanctum*, containing the most extravagant assertions of the power of the Holy See; Paul III., in 1536, and 1538, deposed and damned Henry VIII. of England, and absolved his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; Pius V., in 1570, uttered a bull against Queen Elizabeth, in which "out of the fulness of Apostolic power," he deprived the said Queen of "her pretended title to the kingdom," and released her subjects from "all manner of duty, dominion, allegiance and obedience." The list need not end here; but it is sufficient to convince any one that a temporal power by "divine right," has been claimed *by* the Pope as well as for him.

When Phillippe le Bel refused to acknowledge the

doctrine of the superiority of the spiritual power over the temporal, the Pope wrote to the King: "*We would have thee to know, that in things spiritual and temporal thou art subject to us.*" And the King replied to the Pope: "*We would have thy consummate folly to know, that in things temporal we are subject to no man.*"*

The authenticity of these "words that burn" may be questioned; but be this as it may, the contest gave rise to the following bull of Boniface, *Unam Sanctum*, in which, in direct contradiction to your repeated assertion, "the temporal power of the Pope" "*is clearly and officially announced.*"

"We are taught by the words of the evangelist. In his power there are two swords, the spiritual and temporal. For when the apostle said: 'Lo! here are two swords;' namely, in the Church; when the apostle spoke, the Lord did not say, 'It is not too much,' but, 'It is enough.' Certainly he who denies the temporal sword is in the power of St. Peter, badly attends to the word of our Lord, saying: 'Put thy sword in its sheath.' Both swords, therefore, are in the power of the Church; namely, the spiritual sword and the material sword; but the one is to be exercised by the Church, and the other for the Church; that is the property of the priest in the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the nod and sufferance of the priest; for it behooves that one sword be subject to the other, and that the temporal authority be subject to the spiritual power.

"For, truth bearing witness, the spiritual power

* "Scire te volumus quod in spiritualibus et temporalibus nobis subes."

"Sciat tua maxima fatuitas, in temporalibus nos alicui non subesse."

can appoint the earthly power, and judge it, if it be not good ; for this the prophecy of Jeremiah truly states of the Church and power of the Church. ‘Behold I have set thee over nations and kingdoms,’ etc., which follow. Therefore, if the earthly power deviates, it is judged by its superior ; but if the supreme power deviates, it can be judged by God alone, not by man.

“Moreover, we declare, affirm, define, and pronounce, that it is altogether a matter of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.”*

There, reverend sir, is this doctrine of supreme temporal power “CLEARLY and OFFICIALLY announced.” There stands the bull, *Unam Sanctum*, “in *perpetuaria memoriam*,” and branding with damning heresy, if not with willful and palpable falsehood, every assertion, come from whom it may, that “*this was not the doctrine nor the discipline of the Catholic Church, as has been announced clearly and officially, not merely in this country but throughout the world.*”† And therefore, what construction can be placed on this strange and startling language, which you have uttered and repeated in your lectures. When Pope Gregory

* Corpus Juris Canonici. Ed. Boehmer, tom. 11, p. 1139.

† Five hundred years have passed since Boniface died a miserable death ; but never has a single instance occurred, of any Pope of Rome since, having surrendered the claim ; but have either explicitly announced the doctrine, or else, by significant silence, have tacitly endorsed it. No Pope has authentically, “clearly or officially” denied the indirect temporal authority of the “Holy See.” Not an instance of the kind can be produced.

was informed by Bishop Hermann, of Mentz, that similar statements to yours had been made, and his temporal authority some had dared to question; he wrote from Tripoli, August 25th, A. D. 1076, a letter, "*clearly and officially announcing*" the doctrine, and grounding it upon the scriptures; upon the power of the keys given by Christ to Peter, and from him descending to the Popes, and upon the usages of his predecessors. He calls the opposite doctrine—which though you did not avow, yet you left the impression that you believed—nothing but "MADNESS AND FOLLY," (*insania et fatuitas.*) And was your statement, reverend sir—that "the unlimited" power of the Pope was "not the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church, as has been announced clearly and officially"—was this "madness and folly" in you, or was there a "mental reservation" lingering round the qualifying phrase, "*unlimited*," which, while it might blind the superficial hearer, would be perfectly transparent to the Father in question, and your Lord the Pope; and thus shield you from any suspicion of heresy?

You gave in a lecture, the Gallican explanation of the conduct of the Popes in the middle ages. You referred, if I mistake not, to the work of M. Gasseline. This work has been triumphantly quoted of late in high quarters.* But any information in regard to the object of that work, or the

* The power of the Pope during the Middle Ages, &c., by M. Gasseline, director of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. Translated by the Rev. M. Kelly, of Maynooth. London: Dolman. Baltimore: Murphy & Co. 1853. 2 vols., 8vo.

objects or views of its author. It is a treatise on "the Power of the Popes during the Middle Ages."* Written by a Gallican—"a half-way Protestant"—who denies, "or at least is unwilling to assert, the temporal authority of the Church over sovereigns, by divine right;" his object is to show that the Popes held temporal authority, not by the *jus divinum*, (divine right,) but the *jus politicum*—the political relation he sustained to the Catholic states, and the laws of those states, during the middle ages. He was against the "officially and clearly announced" papal opinion, and was not, as you know well, expressing the settled doctrine of Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and Jesuits, and the whole papal Church. Such was his object, and such is the character of his book; and well you know, that it and its opinions were severely condemned, not only "throughout the world," but here in America, and by yourself, among the bishops of your Church.

In a work edited by your ablest writer, and endorsed on its back by almost every bishop in the United States, this work of M. Gasseline, on account of these liberal principles, is sarcastically and severely condemned.† He is there charged with reading history backwards; with taking "startling liberties with the language of illustrious pontiffs

* Speech of Joseph R. Chandler, in the House of Representatives, on the Temporal Power of the Pope. *

† Brownson's Review for January, 1854, (page 87, seq.,) endorsed by † John Hughes, † Francis Patrick Kendrick, † Martin J. Spalding, and nearly all the bishops in the United States.

and doctors ;” with conceding that, “ if he is right, popes, councils, doctors, and the great body of the faithful, for centuries, entertained an erroneous opinion ;” and with setting forth “ a plausible but illusive theory, *invented to recommend the Church to her enemies, or to escape the odium always attached to truth by the world.*” This is but a small part of the unction poured upon M. Gasseline, by the reviewer, endorsed by the bishops. And what, reverend sir, do they thus condemn, and denounce by the very opinion you have stated, and stated as the “ clearly and officially announced doctrines ” of “ the Church ? ” Then, in the language of the reviewer, and his episcopal endorsers, “ if you are right, popes, councils, doctors, and the great body of the faithful, for centuries, have entertained an erroneous opinion.” This you will not assert, for you profess to believe that the “ unanimous ” decision of these “ popes, councils, doctors, and the great body of the faithful,” *is infallible*. To what conclusion, then, are we inevitably driven ? That, again, in the language of the endorsed reviewer, you have “ *invented this plausible theory to recommend the Church to her enemies, or to escape the odium which* ” the dangerous and arrogant claim of the Pope, cannot fail to awaken among a free people.

“ All history,” says this same eminent reviewer, (and let the endorsement of the bishops accompanying it be remembered,) “ fails to show an instance in which the Pope, in deposing a temporal sovereign, professes to do it by the authority vested in him by the pious belief of the faithful, generally received

maxims, the opinion of the age, the concession of sovereigns, or the civil constitution and public laws of Catholic states. On the contrary, he always claims to do it by the authority committed to him as the successor of the Prince of the Apostles, by the authority of his Apostolic Ministry, by the authority committed to him of binding and loosing, by the authority of Almighty God, of Jesus Christ, King of kings and Lord of lords, whose minister, though unworthy, he asserts that he is—or some such formula, which solemnly and expressly sets forth that his authority is held by divine right, by virtue of his ministry, and exercised solely in his character of Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth. To this, we believe, there is not a single exception. Wherever the popes cite their titles, they never, so far as we can find, cite a human title, but always a divine title. Whence is this? Did the popes cite a false title? Were they ignorant of their own title?”

“The Gallican liberties,” which, though condemned by every Romanist, are just now in America represented as “the officially and clearly announced doctrines” of your Church—need some brief explanation. The Church of France, from its earliest history, was distinguished by an independence far beyond any other country of Europe. The Pragmatical Council of Louis IX., A. D. 1269, set certain limits to the abuses of papal power, as did that of Bourges also in 1438. But the “Gallican liberties” of the present day, originated in the disputes between Louis XIV. and Innocent XI., about the appointment of the livings called the *Regale*. The bishops were assembled by the king, at Paris, in 1682, when the four following propositions were passed:

“I. That the popes have no power from God to interpose, directly or indirectly, in the temporal concerns of princes or of sovereign states. II. That the authority of General Councils is superior to that of the Pope. III. That the usages of the French Church are inviolable. IV. That the Pope is not infallible, in points of faith, unless his decisions are attended with the consent of the Church.”

The horror which these propositions inspired in the bosoms of all the “faithful,” and the holy indignation with which they were denounced in the treatises of Lombardus (Sfondrati,) by Dubois and others, are well known, but the “clearly and officially announced” condemnation of them by the Pope himself, shows their heretical character as it does that of M. Gasseline’s work, and Bishop Spalding’s statements, or rather what his language implies.

Here is the language of Innocent XI., in a brief dated April 11th, 1682 :

“Per præsentēs litteras, *tradita nobis ab omnipotenti Deo auctoritate, improbamus, rescindimus et cassamus* quæ in istris vestris comitiis acta sunt in negotio regaliæ, cum omnibus inde secutis.” Perhaps you may say that this condemnation refers only to the acts of the Assembly concerning the *regale*. Listen, then, to Alexander VI., in his constitution entitled *Inter multiplices*, published on the 4th of August, 1690 : “Omnia et singula, quæ tam quoad extensionem juris regaliæ, quam quoad declarationem de potestate ecclesiastica, ac quatuor *propositiones in ea contentas* acta et gesta fuerunt improbamus, *cassamus*, irritamus, et annullamus.” (“All the acts of the Assembly with

reference to the extension of the *jus regale*, and also the declaration concerning the ecclesiastical power, *and the four propositions therein contained*, we do *condemn, make void, invalidate and annul.*")

So much for substituting "Gallicanism" for "Romanism." Whatever protests against papal usurpation a few independent spirits in your Church may have entered, and whatever freedom from papal domination they may have claimed, those protests have been heeded, but with mockery, and that freedom condemned as rebellion, and every enactment for its attainment annulled by the Pope. Nor has this condemnation been ever retracted; and to-day Rome is as bitter and denunciatory against Gallicanism—opposition to temporal power—as it was in 1690, or as was Alexander VI. My proofs of this are not from Protestant writers. These briefs are from the work of Monseigneur Gousset, Archbishop of Rheims, whose standing in Rome is high and unquestioned.*

"The clear and official announcement of the doctrine of the Catholic Church"—the true papal doctrine—I have thus given as it is set forth in the deeds and writings of the Popes; and the proof and conformity, that this is *the* doctrine of every true papist.* I might cite sufficiently to fill a volume, from Aquinas, Bellarmine, Suarez, and a hundred other historians and theologians, whose writings

* The reader will find the above in Gousset's notes to Berger's *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, vol. iii, p. 571, et seq. Also his observations *sur le Premier Article de la Declaration de 1682*, in *Brownson* for October, 1854. pp. 415, seq.

have ever been approved by your Church. Suarez asks the question: "An Pontifex ratione suæ spiritualis potestates, possit Christianos principes non solum dirigere præ eiprendo, sed etiam cogere puniendo, etiam usque ad regni privationem."† "Can the Pontiff, in virtue of his *spiritual* authority, not merely advise and direct Christian princes, but also *coerce them by punishment, even to the extent of depriving them of regal power, if need be?*" This question he answers in the affirmative. And Baronius, whose authority is eminent at Rome, says: "All who take from the See of St. Peter one of the two swords, and allow only the spiritual, are branded for heretics." What, reverend sir, do you think of this statement of Baronius? His authority as a historian, you acknowledge. His testimony to a fact, corroborated by a hundred other authentic testimonies, no one can doubt. You say that the temporal power of the Pope is not "the *clearly* and officially announced doctrine" of your Church. That though out of the states of the Church he has great power, it is not temporal, but spiritual. This you say, is the doctrine of the Church. Baronius says: All who would allow the Pope "*only the spiritual sword,*" or power, "ARE BRANDED HERETICS." It was so then. It is so yet. To deny the temporal power was, and is, heretical. To maintain it, therefore, was, and is, "the clearly and officially announced doctrine" of the Church. And,

* I use the word papist as Roman Catholic theologians themselves use it, when dwelling on the papal power.

† Treatise De Primatie. Lib. iii, cap. 21.

reverend sir, do you deny it? Do you, who have solemnly sworn that all "heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our Lord, the Pope, I will persecute and attack"—do you hold an opinion which "brands you as a heretic?" Strange, indeed, is it, that you could, in the midst of an intelligent community, say that the temporal power of the Pope was not a doctrine of your Church; and that his power was entirely spiritual. Surely, in the language of Brownson, already quoted, it was an "*invention to escape* the odium" which attaches to such a ruinous and arrogant assumption of Romanism. From that Coryphæus of Romanist editors in America—endorsed, let it be remembered, by the bishops—the following shows a boldness, which a year ago seemed dauntless, and which characterized the whole Catholic press and hierarchy; though one short year has caused a marvellous change to pass over the spirit of their dreams.

"There is," says the fearless Brownson, "in our judgment, but one valid defence of the popes, in their exercise of temporal authority in the middle ages over sovereigns; and that is, that they possess it by divine right, or that the Pope holds that authority by virtue of his commission from Jesus Christ, as the successor of Peter, the prince of the apostles, and visible head of the Church. Any defence of them on a lower ground must, in our judgment, fail to meet the real points in the case, and is rather an evasion than a fair, honest, direct, and satisfactory reply. To defend their power as an extraordinary power, or as an accident in Church history, growing out of the peculiar circumstances,

civil constitution, and laws of the times, now passed away, perhaps forever, may be regarded as less likely to displease non-Catholics and to offend the sensibilities of power, than to defend it on the ground of divine right, and as inherent in the divine constitution of the Church ; but even on the low ground of policy, we do not think it the wisest in the long run. Say what we will, we can gain little credit with those we would conciliate. Always to their minds, will the temporal power of the Pope by divine right loom up in the distance, and always will they believe, however individual Catholics here and there may deny it, or nominally Catholic governments oppose it, that it is the real Roman Catholic doctrine, to be re-asserted and acted the moment that circumstances render it prudent or expedient. We gain nothing with them but doubts of our sincerity, and we only weaken among ourselves that warm and generous devotion to the Holy Father which is due from every one of the faithful, and which is so essential to the prosperity of the Church, in her increasing struggles with the godless powers of this world.”*

But you have defended these claims to temporal power, on a “lower ground than that of divine right, and as an inherent in the divine constitution.” Your defence, therefore—if you had defended it on these grounds—he would call, “RATHER AN EVASION THAN A FAIR, HONEST, DIRECT, AND SATISFACTORY REPLY.” But what would he say, what can this community say, when you deny its very existence! Such a denial was worse than an evasion ; it was anything “*rather than a fair, honest, and satisfactory*” statement. You have heard of Paul Sarpi, recognized as one of the great pillars and expounders of the papal system,

* Brownson's Review, January, 1854.

one whose authority as a correct historian of the doctrines of your Church, no Roman Catholic will question. He gives, in the following extracts from his writings, a clear announcement of the real doctrine concerning the powers of the Pope. I respectfully recommend it to you and to the American public:

“1. That the Pope has all power, *not only spiritual, but also temporal, over all the civil governments of the world*, which properly depend on him as regards political dominion, as subjects and vassals, receiving from him the tenure of government, and the power of administration in their several states.

“2. That he is a temporal monarch in all the world, and that all temporal power comes from God through the medium of the Pope, and is, therefore, subdelegated from him, and subordinated to him, on which account there lies an appeal in temporal and civil causes to the Pope from every civil government, however free and independent; on which account, also, the Pope can establish civil governments and destroy them, and can also make war on civil powers, of whatever grade, when they are disobedient, in order to deprive them of their authority and dominion; in one word, that the government only is legitimate which has the approval of the Pope, and that of which he disapproves is, on that account, no lawful government.

“3. That it is his province to prescribe laws to all governments, and to annul those made by civil powers, when he sees occasion; and that he can issue his commands to civil governments to repeal any of their laws of which he disapproves.

“4. That he has jurisdiction in temporal causes between civil governments, and has power to compel them to obey his judgments by resort to force and stress of arms, if he see occasion.

“ 5. That in any vacancy of administration in a civil government, he can exercise in its dominions any and all jurisdiction, by his own proper authority.

“ 6. That he has the right to command (Roman) Catholic governments to chastise, by force of arms, any government that may show itself rebellious against him; in which case such governments are bound to use their endeavors to cause the Pope to be obeyed, and ecclesiastics respected, by armed force.

“ 7. That in case of a civil government transgressing its obligations to its subjects, the Pope has a right to interfere for its chastisement.

“ 8. That the ultimate settlement of all disputes, not only ecclesiastical, but civil also, belong to the Pope; and that no one can violate a papal decision, even though the cause, both as to the question itself and as to the persons litigating, were merely temporal.

“ 9. That in a cause merely temporal, both as regards the question and the person, it is necessary to obey the Pope, and not to reply, even should he decide unjustly.

“ 10. That if the Pope issue his commands to a layman in a civil case, even unjustly, the layman is bound to obey; even if the Pope should command a layman to give up to him his own property, and on resistance should excommunicate him, the layman is bound to submit to the excommunication.

“ 11. That civil governors are bound to obey the Pope in whatsoever he may command, even in temporal matters; and if they do not, he can chastise and punish them.

“ 12. That in every case the civil governor is bound to satisfy the Pope, without reference to the justice or injustice of his demand; and that if all the world should be of an opinion contrary to that of the Pope, he is bound to stand by what the Pope says; and if he should not follow the opinion of the

Pope, it would not excuse him from sin, if all the world should hold that opinion false.

“13. That if a civil government should make a law infringing the liberty of its subjects, these have a right of recourse to the Pope, and the Pope has power to protect them; and the people of every nation ought to take pains to establish this doctrine, because it is for their advantage to have a power that can repress governments, and stop them by means of censures or force of arms, and to protect the subject, inasmuch as there is no other final resort (*‘ancora sagra’*—best bower anchor) for the maintenance of the liberty of the people, and their defense from the tyranny of princes, except THE AUTHORITY OF THE POPE.”*

How, I must again inquire, will this clear announcement of what is Catholic doctrine, by the learned Sarpi, compare with your statement, that the influence and power of the Pope outside the states of the Church, is only spiritual; and that his “temporal power *is not* the doctrine of the Catholic Church, as clearly and officially announced, not merely in this country but throughout the world.” Sarpi’s veracity and correctness the whole Catholic Church will vouch for; and then, reverend sir, *what becomes of yours!* Was not your statement (again to use the language of Brownson) “an evasion, rather than a fair, honest, and satisfactory reply?” Well must you know, as every man at all informed on the subject knows, that the Pope does claim temporal power, and to the extent of interfering with the laws of temporal governments, and

* Consulto del P. M. Paolo Sarpi. Opera di Sarpi. Tomo 320, pp. 331, 332.

the allegiance of subjects and citizens. We need not go to ancient records to prove it. We need not seek examples in the distant past to illustrate it. In our own day, and on our own continent, has the attempt to exercise it been witnessed. When the republic of New Grenada nobly abolished Church tithes, established free schools, and attempted to separate Church and State, the present Pontiff hurled his bull against that republic. Here is his language :

“ We disapprove of all those things which have been done by the rulers of the republic, against the religion, the Church and her laws, pastors and ministers, and against the *rights and authority of this chair of blessed Peter*. We raising, with apostolic liberty, our pastoral voice, in this your most illustrious assembly, *do censure, condemn, and declare utterly null and void, all the aforesaid decrees*, which have, so much to the contempt of the ecclesiastical authority of this holy see, and to the loss and detriment of religion and of the holy prelates, BEEN THERE ENACTED BY THE CIVIL POWER.”

Here the enactments of the civil power are by the Pope annulled, by the raising of his pastoral voice ; and you will tell us that the Pope claims no temporal power, nor right to interfere with independent governments. Evade the question of the temporal power you may. In ambiguous terms you may deny it ; but, in the language of Brownson, “ it will ever loom up,” in its stern and withering aspect, and in direct contradiction to your evasions, will it thunder its arrogant and dangerous claim and denials, will it thunder to unrivalled and universal supremacy and power. Heard with submissive awe in other lands, it is hushed here, because its

avowal might defeat the cherished design of its sworn supporters. But let Rome, by her sleepless vigilance—by her countless and invisible agencies—her secret and well-planned machinations—let her worm herself into the heart of this republic, and with the constant stream of emigration inoculate it with her principles, and here, too, will her “pastoral voice be raised” and her temporal and tyrannical power be enforced. Well may we be aroused at every encroachment of that power in our midst, which seeks to “annul the enactments by the civil power,” which secures to us what is dearer to us than life.

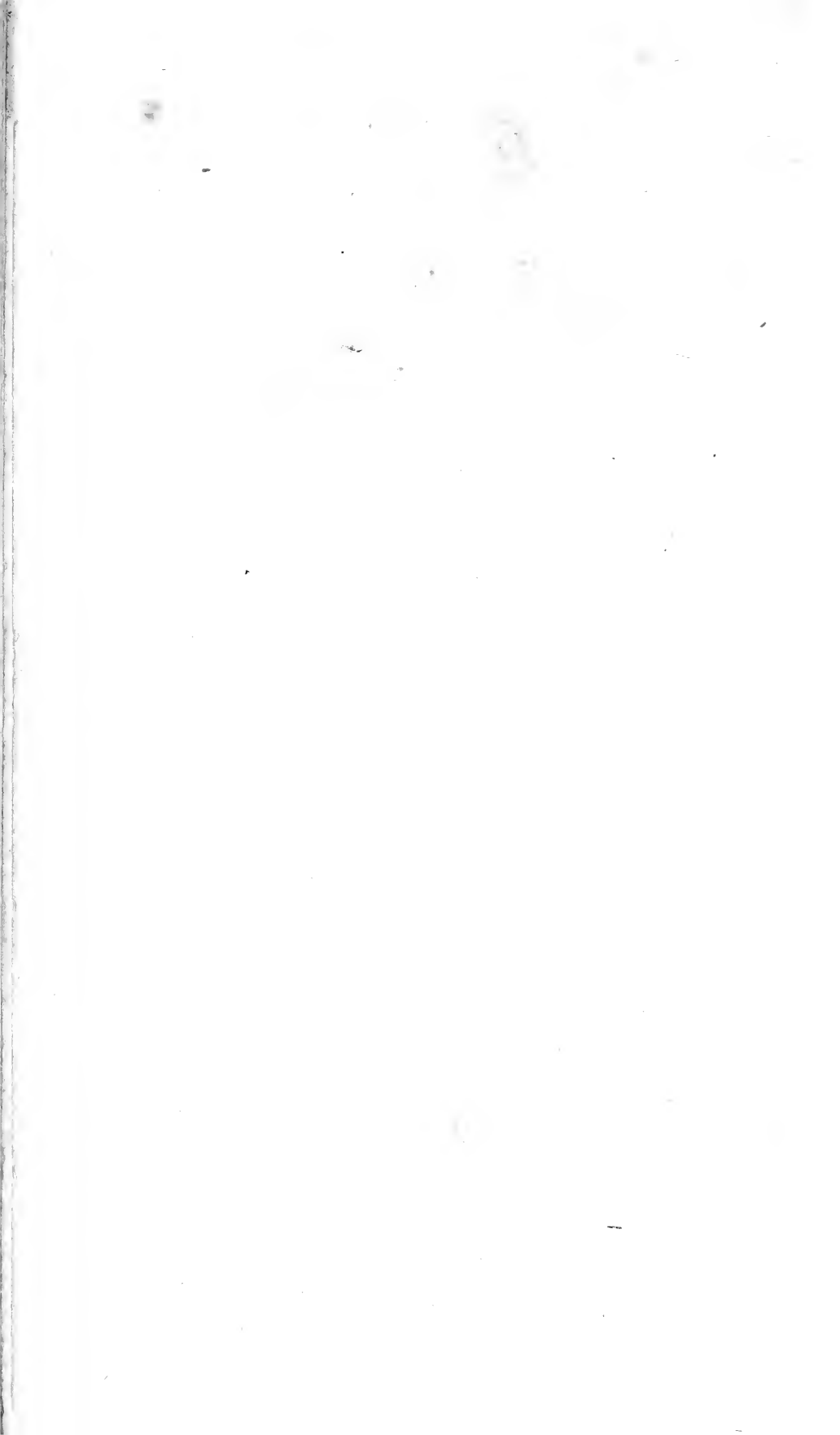
“Slaves fight for what were better cast away—
The chain that binds them, and a tyrant’s sway;
But they that fight for freedom, undertake
The noblest cause mankind can have at stake;
Religion, virtue, truth, whate’er we call
A blessing—freedom is the pledge of all.”

Here, reverend sir, I shall close these letters. In them I have fearlessly, but respectfully, questioned your statements made in the cathedral, and in your communication in the *Courier*. I have pursued this course from motives the most honorable and pure. Love of truth and love of country, have been my only prompters, to express, thus publicly, my honest convictions.

With the greatest respect for your talents and position, and in the hope that the spirit of all truth may enable you and your people to break the chain that binds you to the papal throne, I am

Yours, &c.,

S. H. FORD.







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